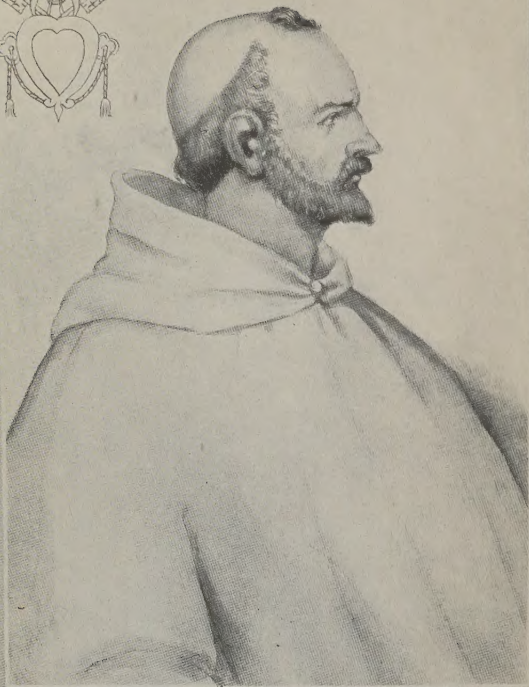


ST. BERNARD'S TREATISE
ON CONSIDERATION

ST. BERNARD'S

Treatise on Consideration

"I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of Thy house, and
the place where Thy glory dwelleth."—Ps. xxv. 8.



EVGENIVS • III • PP • PISANVS

BLESSED EUGENIUS III (1145-53)

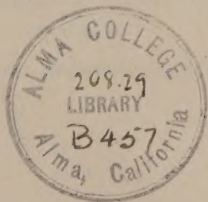
ST. BERNARD'S

Treatise on Consideration

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN

BY

A PRIEST OF MOUNT MELLERAY



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EP. TIT. CONSTANTIENSI ET PRAESULI GENERALI

CISTERCIENSIVM STRICTIORIS OBSERVANTIAE

NECNON ABBATI DOMUS CISTERCII QVAE EST OMNIUM

NOSTRUM MATER

HAEC VERSIO IN LINGUAM ANGLICANAM

LIBRI STI. PATRIS NOSTRI BERNARDI 'DE CONSIDERATIONE'

NUNCUPATI

ET AD FILIVM SVVM IN CHRISTO BERNARDVM

PRIVS IN ABBATEM COENOBII AD AQVAS SALVIAS ELECTVM

POSTEA PONTIFICEM MAXIMUM CREATVM

SUB NOMINE EUGENII III. DATI ET INSCRIPTI

HVMILITER ET FILIALI REVERENTIA

DEDICATUR

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE Treatise on Consideration—the *Deuteronomium Pontificum*, as it has been called—whether we judge it by its intrinsic merits or according to the influence which it has exerted on the history of the Church, must unquestionably be ranked amongst the great books of the world. It is the work by which the Mellifluous Doctor is best known, and his most important contribution to the sacred sciences. Ever since its first appearance eminent authors have used it as a theological *locus*, and its title at any rate has been familiar to every student of theology or Church history during the past eight hundred years. It is in this work especially that the holy Abbot appears—in the fervid language of Helinandus—“more eloquent than Demosthenes, more subtle than Aristotle, wiser than Plato, more prudent than Socrates.” Nowhere else does he exhibit such a profound knowledge of things divine and human ; nowhere else is the astonishing versatility of his genius so strikingly displayed. To quote from Mabillon : “ Amongst all the writings of St. Bernard there is nothing that appears more worthy of him than the five Books on Consideration, composed for Pope Eugenius. For if you look to the greatness of the subject treated, to the dignity of the person addressed, you can find nothing more noble ; if you look to the manner of treatment, nothing can be more sublime ; if to the majesty of style and the depth and vigour of thought, nothing more eloquent, nothing more powerful ; if, finally, you consider the doctrine contained in these Books, its

conformity to the sacred canons, and the propriety of the language in which it is expressed, there can be nothing more worthy of a Catholic Doctor and a most holy Father of the Church. Yet what could be more difficult for one who had lived in solitude, a stranger to the pursuits and occupations of the world, than thus to lay down and, as it were, prescribe rules of conduct for the Sovereign Pontiff, yea, for the whole Church of God? What, I ask, could be more difficult for a private individual than to discourse judiciously, with equal accuracy and precision, and to pass a true judgment on the state of the universal Church, on the morals of her ministers, on the duties, the virtues, and the vices of all classes of Christians? Where shall we look for greater prudence than that of him who could expose, criticise, and punish the errors and abuses of men of the highest rank in such a way as not only to incur no ill-will or suspicion of prejudice, but even to gain the love and admiration of all? And in truth, so great was the skill or charm, or rather the God-given authority of our Saint, that ever since their first publication these Books on Consideration have been eagerly sought after, everybody reading them, and re-reading them, and loving them, even the Popes who are here taken to task with such unsparing severity."

As a matter of fact, this work has been a special favourite with the Sovereign Pontiffs. St. Pius V (1566-72) and his successor Gregory XIII (1572-85) held it in such high esteem that they were accustomed to have it read to them at table. It was equally prized by Nicholas V (1447-55), by Urban VII (1590), and by Gregory XIV (1590-91). The last named wished to see the Books on Consideration in the hands of all

ecclesiastics, and especially of prelates, and for this purpose conceived the design of publishing them in a separate volume. So Vossius tells us in the dedication of his edition to Clement VIII (1592-1605). The immense circulation of the work may be estimated from the fact that, at the close of the nineteenth century, it (with the rest of the Saint's productions) had run through 500 editions, of which quite 200 are to the credit of France. Cf. *Vie de Saint Bernard par l'Abbé E. Vacandard*, vol. ii. p. 560.

Readers to whom our Author is only known through his sermons will doubtless be struck with the very marked contrast between the sweetness and tenderness which characterise these and the caustic style of the present treatise. They may find it difficult to reconcile such rigorism, not to say cutting severity, with the character of the Mellifluous Doctor, especially where he is speaking of those about the Pope. But the explanation is easy. St. Bernard could "gladly suffer fools"; but he had no patience with those who by their scandals brought dishonour on the Spouse of Christ, who adulterated His doctrine or oppressed His poor, or with such as traded in ecclesiastical offices and dignities "supposing gain to be godliness." It was the same classes of sinners that excited the Saviour's anger, the sacrilegious traffickers and the greedy, sanctimonious Pharisees, who, like the poor, are always with us. And in the Saint, as in his Master, the indignation had its source in an excess of divine charity. He tells us as much himself in his 44th Sermon on the Canticle of Canticles, where he says, "If you love the Lord Jesus with your whole heart and with your whole soul and with all your strength, can you

possibly restrain your feelings when you behold Him exposed to outrage and contumely? No, surely not. Rather, each one of you, carried away by the spirit of righteous zeal, 'like a mighty man that hath been surfeited with wine,' and inflamed with the holy ardour of Phinees, shall say with the Psalmist 'My zeal hath made me pine away because my enemies have forgotten Thy words,' and with the Saviour, 'The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up.' "

No student of ecclesiastical history will be surprised at the Saint's severe strictures on the papal court, the abuses whereof had been denounced in the preceding generation by St. Peter Damian in still more vigorous language. The Roman people, too, deserved all they got. At this period especially, as a consequence of the revolutionary propaganda carried on by Jordan (brother of the antipope, Anacletus II.) and Arnold of Brescia, the city of the Popes had become the daily scene of violence and disorder. The immediate predecessor of Eugenius, Lucius II., is said to have died from the effects of injuries received in one of these riots; and Eugenius himself, after his election, had to fly by night with his friends, leaving the disappointed rabble to vent their rage in pillage and arson. Cf. Baronius, *Annal.*, ad an. 1145, 3. As to the Saint's boldness in reproving the Pontiff, it is only the boldness of Jethro with Moses, of Paul with Cephas, or of Catherine of Siena with Urban VI. He was jealous of his son "with the jealousy of God," fearful lest the height of power and dignity, or overmuch attention to external things, or the thousand other dangers surrounding the pontifical throne, should cause him to forget the one thing that matters. And so, as Dr. Alzog remarks, "he uses the

freedom and frankness of a father addressing a son, which, it must be admitted, is a liberty rarely taken with the great of this world, and an indubitable proof of the sincerity of the friendship between these two great men" (*Univ. Ch. Hist.*, v. ii. 391). Even the Protestant historian Milner, although but little inclined to praise Catholic Saints or Pontiffs, is fain to acknowledge that the Treatise on Consideration is a monument not less to the Pope's "unaffected humility" than to the "honest plainness of the Abbot" (*Hist. of Ch.*, v. iii. 401). The Saint understood the man to whom he was speaking, and knew how his admonitions would be received. For Eugenius was one of his own spiritual children, with a world-wide reputation for wisdom and sanctity. During his eight years as Pope (1145-53) he accomplished a great deal for the glory of God and the advancement of religion, and did much to restore to the papacy its ancient prestige and influence which had suffered considerably in the preceding pontificates.

Baronius is mistaken when he says that the five Books of this Treatise were composed at the same time. They were written at intervals during the last five years of the Author's life. The first book was completed in 1149, as the Saint's secretary, Nicholas, testifies in a letter to Peter the Venerable. As to the rest, we have intrinsic evidence that the second was written in 1150, when the failure of the Crusade had become known, and the third in 1152, after the death of Hugo, Bishop of Auxerre. The fourth and fifth must have followed quickly, as both Pontiff and Abbot died in 1153, the former on July 8th, and the latter on August 20th.

The plan of the Treatise is very simple. In the

words of the Abbé Ratisbonne, "it is a sublime work, which, placing the Pope at the very centre of Catholicism, shows us under every possible point of view, the immense plan of the Church and its vast dimensions. The idea of the work is that of the reformation of the Church by the development of the internal and quickening powers of the papacy. St. Bernard understood well all the resources which this divine institution contains, to heal, repair, and restore the languishing forms of Christendom; and under the corruption of these forms, he perceived the ever-living principle and the indestructible germ of a new and immortal existence. Thus, according to him, the celestial healing of the Church was to begin and end with the Pope. 'Thy consideration,' he says, addressing Eugenius, 'must begin with thyself and end with thyself. Thou must first consider thyself, then the things below thee, next the things around thee, and lastly the things above thee.' These four great perspectives embrace, as we see, the whole universe, and indicate the principal divisions of the work."

It would, of course, be very unfair to judge the great Abbot's masterpiece by this English version, which is the only one from a Catholic pen. Those who wish to form a just estimate of it must go to the Latin. But although I have not attempted the impossible task of reproducing the rare literary qualities of the original, I can claim with some confidence to have faithfully preserved its teaching, and that is the only object I have striven to attain.

FEAST OF BLESSED EUGENIUS,

July 8th, 1921.

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ON CONSIDERATION

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

MOST Holy Father Eugenius, I have a mind to compose something which may edify thee, or please thee, or give thee consolation. But—how it is I know not—my pen appears to be at one and the same time both willing and unwilling, eager and reluctant, to give expression to my thoughts, as if it were urged in opposite ways by the love I feel for thy person and the awe which thy majesty inspires, the latter forbidding what the former enjoins. However, thy condescension interposes with a request for that which it were more in keeping with thy dignity to demand. And when majesty shows itself so graciously yielding, should not modesty likewise give way? What matters it that thou hast ascended the papal throne? Even if thou wert to “walk upon the wings of the winds” (Ps. xvii. 11) thou shalt not withdraw thyself from my affection. Parental love knows nothing of lordship; it recognises not a master but a child even in him who wears the tiara. It is of itself perfectly submissive; it renders voluntary service, free obedience, willing reverence. “Not so the wicked, not so” (Ps. i. 4), who to the discharge of such duties have either to be compelled by fear or drawn by cupidity. These are they that bless thee in thy presence, “but evils are in their hearts” (Ps. xxvii. 3); they will flatter thee to thy

face, but in thy hour of need they will fail thee. But "charity never falleth away" (1 Cor. xiii. 8). As for me, I acknowledge that I have been relieved of a mother's office in thy regard, yet I have not lost a mother's affection. Having dwelt so long in my heart, thou shalt not now without difficulty be able to tear thyself thence. Though thou shouldst mount up to heaven, though thou shouldst descend into the abyss, thou canst not escape from me: I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest. I have loved thee poor and I will love thee now that thou art become the father both of rich and poor. For unless I am grievously mistaken in thee, even as the father of the poor thou wilt not cease to be poor in spirit. It is my hope and confidence that this change of rank has not been accompanied by any change of sentiment: that the old disposition has not yielded place but only a support to the new dignity. Therefore shall I admonish thee now, not as a master, but as a mother, yea, as a most loving mother. Some, as I perceive, will think me beside myself, but only such as know not what it is to love, only such as have never experienced in themselves the violence of a mother's affection.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAINT CONDOLES WITH THE PONTIFF OPPRESSED
WITH THE MULTITUDINOUS CARES OF HIS OFFICE.

WITH what therefore had I best begin? Doubtless, with thy occupations, because it is especially with regard to them that I condole with thee. I say I *condole with* thee, but that is only true on condition that thou art grieving for thyself. Otherwise, I should rather say *I grieve for*, not *I condole with*, thee; because the condolence of one necessarily presupposes the grief of another. Consequently, if thou grievest, I condole with thee; if thou grievest not, I cannot indeed condole with thee, nevertheless I still grieve for thee, and that the more as knowing how far removed from health is the member that has lost its sensibility, and how dangerous is the condition of the sick man who is unconscious of his illness. But God forbid that I should suspect anything such of thee. I know how sweet to thee were the delights of holy contemplation of which thou hast been so recently defrauded. Thou canst not have lost the remembrance and the desire of them in so short a space, thou canst not have ceased so quickly and so suddenly to lament their withdrawal. So fresh a wound cannot be without pain, since it has not had time to become cicatrised or callous. Moreover, if thou art willing to be candid, thou wilt not deny that thy daily spiritual losses furnish thee with

an unfailing motive for just grief. It is against thy will, I doubt not, that thou art called away so frequently from the embraces of thy dear Rachel.* Now, as often as this happens to thee, so often is there necessarily a renewal of thy grief. But when does it not happen? How often dost thou long for repose without being able to gratify thy wishes! How often hast thou to abandon what thou wert but beginning to enjoy! How often are thy efforts attended with failure! How often art thou in labour with the tender sentiments of devotion, yet unable to bring forth! How often after making an attempt art thou interrupted, ending where thou hadst begun, so that thou canst say with the Prophet, "whilst I was yet but beginning, they cut me off" (Is. xxxviii. 12). So it is written, "The children are come to the birth, and the woman in travail hath not strength" (4 Kings xix. 3). Knowest thou all this? Aye, none better. Very hardened, therefore, must thou be, and like the heifer Ephraim "taught to love to tread out corn" (Osee x. 11), if thou dost willingly resign thyself to such a condition of things. Perish the thought! For

* It is the custom with mystical writers to use the names Rachel and Lia (as also Mary and Martha) to designate the contemplative and the active life respectively. Thus, St. Gregory the Great wrote (Epist. V.), soon after his elevation to the Chair of Peter, "I have loved the beauty of the contemplative life as my Rachel, sterile indeed, but comely and keen-sighted, who, although unfruitful of children, yet enjoys the light of God more fully than her sister. But, by what judgment I know not, my light has been exchanged for darkness, contemplation for activity, the beautiful Rachel for the blear-eyed, if fertile, Lia. It was my delight to sit with Mary at the feet of the Lord and to listen to the words of grace that fell from His lips: but behold I am now compelled to assist Martha in her external occupations and to busy myself about many things" (cf. Genesis xxix.; Luke x. 42).—(Translator.)

that is the case with those only whom God hath "delivered up to a reprobate sense" (Rom. i. 28). I desire indeed that thou shouldst have peace from distractions, but I do not want thee to make peace with them, that is, by learning to love them : there is nothing I fear more for thee than this. Perhaps thou wilt wonder if such a thing could ever happen ? Very easily, I assure thee, if, as is commonly the case, familiarity and use are allowed to beget indifference.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POWER OF HABIT TO PRODUCE EVIL DISPOSITIONS AND HARDNESS OF HEART.

Rely not too much on thy present disposition, for there is nothing in the soul so firmly established as that it cannot be removed by time and neglect. A wound grows callous when not attended to in time, and becomes incapable of cure in proportion as it loses sensibility. Furthermore, pain that is sharp and continuous cannot long endure : if not otherwise got rid of, it must speedily succumb to its own violence. I mean to say : either a remedy will soon be found to assuage it, or from its continuance a state of apathy will result. What disposition cannot be induced, or destroyed, or changed to its contrary by the force of habit and usage ? How many have come by use to find pleasure in the evil which before inspired only horror and disgust ? Listen to a just man lamenting this misfortune : "The things which before my soul would not touch," says holy Job, "now, through

anguish, are my meats " (Job vi. 7). At first something will seem to thee insupportable. After a while, when thou hast become a little accustomed to it, it will not appear so very dreadful. Later on it will shock thee less; later still it will have ceased to shock thee at all. Finally thou wilt begin to take delight in it. Thus, little by little, mayest thou proceed to hardness of heart and from that to a loathing for virtue. And in this way, as I have said, a continuous pain will soon find relief either in a complete cure or in utter insensibility.

Here, then, here is the reason why I have always feared for thee and do still fear: lest, postponing the application of a remedy, and unable meanwhile to endure the pain, thou shouldst at last grow reckless and abandon thyself irrevocably to evil. Yes, this is what I am most afraid of, that despairing of ever seeing the end of the multitudinous cares which distract thee, thou shouldst begin at last to stifle thy conscience, and thus little by little to deaden this sense of good and salutary discomfort. How much more prudent would it not be to withdraw thyself from thy occupations occasionally, even for a short time, instead of allowing them to overwhelm thee and to lead thee gradually "whither thou wouldst not" (John xxi. 18)! Whither is that, dost thou inquire? To hardness of heart. Ask me not what this means. For if thou art without fear for thyself, it is something which is already thine. It is only the heart which is hardened that abhors not itself, as not sensible of its evil. Why askest thou me what it is to have a hard heart? Inquire of Pharaoh (Exod. vii. 3). There never yet has been a man with a hard heart who obtained salvation, unless he be one from whom

God in His mercy took away the stony heart, as the Prophet speaks (Ezech. xi. 19), and replaced it with a heart of flesh. What, then, is meant by a hard heart? It is a heart which can neither be pierced by compunction, nor softened by piety, nor moved by prayer, which menaces cannot tame and which chastisement only renders more obdurate; it is a heart which is ungrateful for benefits received, which is treacherous in its counsels, cruel in its judgments, shameless in its turpitude, reckless in danger, unfeeling in things human, audacious in things divine; which is forgetful of the past, neglectful of the present, improvident of the future; or rather I should say, it remembers nothing of the past except the injuries done it, makes no use at all of the present, nor any provision or preparation for the future, unless perchance it is planning to revenge itself. To comprehend all the evils of this most terrible evil in one short sentence, I say that a hard heart is a heart which neither fears God nor regards man (Luke xviii. 4). See now to what these accursed occupations are capable of dragging thee, if yet thou continuest, as thou hast begun, to give thyself up entirely to them, reserving nothing of thee for thyself. Besides, thou art only wasting thy time in acting thus. And if I may venture to address thee in the words of Jethro to Moses (Exod. xviii. 18), know that thou also "art spending thyself with foolish labour" in these secular occupations, the only result of which—so far as concerns thee—are affliction of spirit, vexation of mind, and the loss of the grace of devotion. For does not the fruit of thy toil resemble the worthless cobwebs which the poor spider exhausts itself in weaving?

CHAPTER III.

THAT IT IS UNWORTHY OF PRELATES OF THE CHURCH
TO BE CONSTANTLY ENGAGED IN HEARING AND
DECIDING LAWSUITS.

Tell me, I pray thee, what kind of life is it to be daily occupied from dawn to dusk in pleading causes or listening to pleaders? And would to God the day were sufficient for the evil thereof! But alas! the litigations even encroach upon the night. Hardly enough time is left free to satisfy the poor body's natural need of rest, and then up again to resume the wrangling! "Day to day uttereth" lawsuits, "and night to night sheweth" malice (Ps. xviii. 3). Things have come to such a pass that it is no longer possible for thee, not alone to enjoy in peace the delights of contemplation, but even to alternate labour with repose, or to secure even an occasional interval of leisure. I have no doubt that in thy judgment also this is a deplorable state of affairs. But it is idle for thee to lament the evil, if thou takest no pains to correct it. In the meantime, however, until thou art in a position to apply a proper remedy, I would have thee to persevere in this disposition of salutary discontent, and never to allow any use or custom to reconcile thee to what thou art now bewailing. "Thou hast struck them and they have not grieved," said the Prophet to God, speaking of the Jews (Jer. v. 3). Do not thou follow their evil example. Endeavour rather to make thine own the sentiments and the language of the just man, who said, "For what is my strength that I can

hold out? Or what is my end that I should keep patience? My strength is not the strength of stones, nor is my flesh of brass" (Job vi. 11, 12). Patience is doubtless a noble virtue. But I should be sorry to see thee exercising it with regard to these thy distractions. There are seasons and circumstances in which impatience is more commendable. Surely thou wouldst not approve of the patience of those to whom St. Paul said, "You gladly suffer the foolish: whereas you yourselves are wise" (2 Cor. xi. 19)? Unless I mistake, the Apostle is here speaking ironically. He does not mean to praise but rather to mock at the submissiveness of the Corinthians, who, having been seduced by the pseudo-apostles, surrendered themselves to their guidance, and most patiently endured to be inoculated by them with all kinds of strange and corrupt superstitions. Hence he goes on to say, "For you suffer if a man bring you into bondage" (2 Cor. xi. 20). Now to suffer thyself to be made a slave when thou hast it in thy power to be free, is certainly not true patience. I wish thee, therefore, to realise fully the sort of servitude to which, all unsuspecting, thou art beyond a doubt being daily reduced. It is an indication of a callous mind to be insensible of one's own constant misery. According to the Prophet, "vexation giveth understanding to the hearing" (Is. xxviii. 19).* That is true, yet only when the vexation is not excessive; for otherwise, instead of giving understanding, it will

* "Vexatio dat intellectum auditui." The Vulgate reading is "vexatio sola dat intellectum auditui," which the Douay Translators render "Vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear." The Greek differs widely from both: "μάθετε ἀκούειν στενοχωρούμενοι." ("vexation shall teach you to hear.")—(Translator.)

beget indifference, as it is written, " The wicked man, when he is come into the depth of evils, contemneth " (Prov. xiii. 3). Rouse thyself, therefore, and I do not say: be on thy guard against, but fly with horror from this most cruel yoke of servitude, which even now threatens thee, yea, which is already beginning to press heavily upon thee. Or dost thou think thou art not therefore a slave because in bondage not to one but to all? But there can be no more bitter or degrading servitude than that of the Jews, which follows them everywhere, since everywhere they encounter their taskmasters. And is not thy condition the same? For tell me, if thou canst, when or where art thou ever free, ever secure, ever thine own? No, uproar and tumult are thy constant attendants: go whither thou wilt, thou canst not escape from the oppressive yoke of thy thralldom.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT KIND OF SERVITUDE IS WORTHY AND WHAT UNWORTHY OF HIM WHO IS CALLED THE SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

Perhaps thou wilt now remind me of the words of St. Paul, where he says, " Whereas I was free as to all, I made myself the servant of all " (1 Cor. ix. 19). But the Apostle is speaking here of a servitude very different from thine. Thinkest thou that *he* ever made himself the bondsman of men in order to help them in the acquisition of filthy lucre? Thinkest thou that to *him*, from all parts of the globe, thronged the ambitious, the

avaricious, the simoniacal, the sacrilegious, the licentious, and monsters of vice of every description, in order to obtain or retain ecclesiastical honours by means of his apostolic authority? Nothing could be farther from the truth. That great man, for whom to live was Christ and to die gain (Philipp. i. 21), made himself the bondsman of all, not for the purpose of increasing the profits of avarice, but that he might convert more souls to God. Consequently thou canst find no justification for thine own servile condition in the most prudent activities of St. Paul, or in his charity, as independent as it was boundless. How much more worthy of thy apostolic office would it not be, how much more salutary for thy conscience and profitable for the Church, if, instead of vainly seeking to excuse thine own servitude by the example of that which the Apostle attributes to himself, thou wert rather to attend to these other words of his, "You are bought with a price, be not made the bondslaves of men" (1 Cor. vii. 23). What slavery can be more degrading and more unworthy of the Sovereign Pontiff than to be kept thus busily employed, I do not say every day, but every hour of every day, in furthering the sordid designs of greed and ambition? What leisure hast thou left for prayer? What time remains over to thee for instructing the people, for edifying the Church, for meditating on the law? True, thy palace is made to resound daily with noisy discussions relating to law, but it is not the law of the Lord, but the law of Justinian.* Is this as it ought to be? Let thy

* Flavius Anicius Julianus Justinianus, Roman Emperor, 527-565, published in or about the year 529, the celebrated work entitled *Corpus Juris Civilis*. It consists of four parts, (1) the "Digest" or "Pandects," in fifty books, containing

conscience answer. "The law of the Lord is unspotted, converting souls," as the Psalmist sings (Ps. xviii. 8) : but as to these other laws, they seem to serve no better purpose than to furnish occasions for quarrels and quibbling, which tend to subvert rather than to enlighten the judgment. Then tell me, I pray thee, with what conscience canst thou, the supreme "Shepherd and Bishop of souls" (1 Peter ii. 25), permit the former to be condemned to perpetual silence in thy court, whilst allowing the latter to deafen thee with an uninterrupted clamour? I am greatly mistaken if thou canst contemplate so shocking an abuse with an easy mind. I suspect that thou art sometimes constrained to cry out to the Lord in the words of the Prophet, "The wicked have told me fables, but not as Thy law" (Ps. cxviii. 85). And dost thou nevertheless pretend to be a free man, whilst bearing the heavy yoke of such a servitude, from which thou art not suffered even for a moment to withdraw thy neck? But if thou mayest deliver thyself and lackest only the desire to do so, then art thou all the more a slave, a slave to thine own perverted will. Is he not a slave whom iniquity dominates? * Undoubtedly. Or does it seem to thee a greater dishonour to be in bondage to

authoritative verdicts or precedents—*responsa prudentum*, (2) the Codex, an epitome of the earlier Theodosian Code, (3) the "Institutes," compiled for the use of students and published separately in 530, (4) the "Authentic" or "Novels," comprising the decisions given by Justinian himself. The civil laws of all Christian States and even the Canon law itself are grounded upon the *Corpus Juris*. St. Bernard is here finding fault not with the Code itself, but with the bad use to which it was being put in the Papal Court, and particularly with its engrossment of the Pontiff's time and attention to the prejudice of the Divine law.—(Translator.)

* Cf. the vespers' prayer for Quinquagesima Friday, also Ps. cviii. 133.—(Translator.)

a human master than to be the slave of sin ? Knowest thou the difference between a willing servitude and a servitude that is constrained ? I will tell thee : the latter is more painful than the former, the former more pitiful than the latter. Dost thou ask me what I would have thee to do ? I would have thee to spare thyself from thy occupations. Perhaps thou wilt answer that this is impossible, that it would be easier to resign the pontifical office ? No doubt—if yet I had counselled thee to renounce altogether these distracting duties, instead of recommending an occasional interruption.

CHAPTER V.

THAT THE PONTIFF SHOULD NOT BE SO SOLICITOUS FOR
OTHERS AS TO NEGLECT THE CARE OF HIMSELF.

Listen now to what I condemn in thee and to what I would exhort thee. If thou devotest to external activities all thy time and all thy attention, reserving nothing for consideration : “ What shall I say to (thee) ? Do I praise (thee) ? In this I praise (thee) not ” (1 Cor. xi. 22). Neither, as I suppose, would anyone else who remembered the words of Solomon, “ He that is less in action shall receive wisdom ” (Eccli. xxxviii. 25). Even for action itself it is expedient that it should follow, not precede, consideration.

Again, if thou desirest to put thyself unreservedly at the disposal of all, after the example of him who “ became all things to all men ” (1 Cor. ix. 22), I certainly applaud thy charity—provided only that it be full. But how can thy charity be full unless thou

thyself also art comprehended in its embrace? Thou art a man like the rest of us. Therefore, if thy charity is to be considered full and perfect it ought to include thee as well as all other men in its folds. For, in the words of the Lord, what will it profit thee to gain the whole world, if thou lovest thyself alone? (Matt. xvi. 26). Wherefore, since everybody else enjoys a share of thy solicitude, do thou likewise participate therein. Why shouldst thou be the only one defrauded of the benefit of thy zeal? How long wilt thou be as "a spirit that goeth and returneth not" (Ps. lxxvii. 39)? How long wilt thou refuse to admit thyself also in thy turn amongst the multitude of men to whom thy door stands open? Both "to the wise and to the unwise (thou art) a debtor" (Rom. i. 14), and dost thou deny thyself to thyself alone? Simple and wise, slaves and freemen, rich and poor, men and women, old and young, priests and laics, good and bad—all alike have a share in thee, all drink from the public fountain of thy heart: and wilt thou, though thirsty, stand aloof? If he is accursed who deteriorates his portion,* what shall be the fate of him who loses it altogether? By all means let the waters of thy well flow out into the public ways; let not men alone partake thereof, but their beasts of burden likewise, and their flocks and herds; yea, draw, if so please thee, and give to drink to the camels of Abraham's servant (Gen. xxiv. 19, 20); only do thou also with the rest slake thy thirst at the fountain. It is written, "Neither let strangers be partakers with thee" (Prov. v. 17). But art thou a

* "Maledictus qui partem suam deteriore facit." St. Bernard quotes these words in several places and seems to regard them as Scriptural. But they are nowhere to be found in the Vulgate.—(Translator.)

stranger? ¶To whom art thou not a stranger if a stranger to thyself? "He that is evil to himself," says the Wise Man, "to whom will he be good?" (Prov. xiv. 5). Remember therefore, I do not say always, I do not even say often, but at least from time to time, to restore thyself to thyself. Attend to thyself amongst others, or at all events, after the others. Could anything be more indulgent than this? Indeed, if I have not asked more of thee it is not because reason would not approve, but because I desire to be lenient. It seems to me that in this matter I am less exacting than the Apostle. Less, therefore, than is right, sayest thou? I will not deny it. But perhaps it is the part of prudence to require from thee less than is due. For thou, as I trust, wilt not be content with giving the small measure which is all that my nervous timidity has the courage to ask, but rather wilt "abound the more" (1 Thess. iv. 1). This certainly will be more becoming, viz., that thou shouldst show thyself generous than that I should appear bold. Besides, in dealing with majesty I judge it more expedient to seem wanting in courage than wanting in discretion. And perhaps it is only in this way, namely, by asking little and leaving the rest to his generosity, that I ought to have admonished a wise man, according to the recommendation of Solomon, "Give an occasion to a wise man and wisdom shall be added to him" (Prov. ix. 9).

CHAPTER VI.

THAT THE JUDICIARY POWER BELONGS MORE TO CIVIL
MAGISTRATES THAN TO THE PRELATES OF THE
CHURCH.

But as touching the question of lawsuits, hear what the Apostle has to say: "Is it so," he asks, "that there is not among you any one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren?" (1 Cor. vi. 5). And again: "I speak to your shame: if you have judgments of things pertaining to this world, set them to judge who are the most despised in the Church" (ibid.). Therefore, in the judgment of St. Paul, it is unworthy of thee, as the successor of the apostles, to assume to thyself so vile an office, so contemptible a function. Listen to a bishop instructing a brother-bishop: "No man," so writes St. Paul to St. Timothy, "being a soldier to God, entangleth himself with secular businesses" (2 Tim. ii. 4). "But I spare thee" (1 Cor. vii. 28), for I am asking nothing hard of thee, nothing thou canst not easily do. I do not require of thee to renounce the judicial office altogether. For thou knowest well what the men of this generation would think of thee if, when litigants came forward, contending for an earthly inheritance and demanding judgment from thy mouth, they received this answer in the words of the Lord, "Men, who hath appointed me judge or divider over you?" (Luke xii. 14). Thou knowest what complaints such a reply would call forth. "What means this ignorant rustic? He does not know his prerogatives as Supreme Pontiff; he is a dishonour to this noble and supereminent See; his

conduct is unworthy of the apostolic dignity." And nevertheless I do not think that such censurers would be able to show where any one of the apostles ever acted as a judge between men concerning the fixing of boundaries or the division of lands. I have read indeed that the apostles *were brought to judgment*, but that they ever *sat in judgment* themselves I can nowhere find. The judicial office they have never yet exercised : they reserve that for the day of doom. Shall we suppose, therefore, that a servant degrades his dignity because he does not desire to be greater than his master ? Or an apostle, if he has no wish to appear greater than he that sent him (John xiii. 16) ? Or a son, unless he transgresses the limits appointed for him by his fathers ? " Who hath appointed Me judge ? " said He Who is Lord and Master. And shall the servant and the disciple consider himself dishonoured unless he acts as judge of the universe ? Surely nothing could be more ridiculous. Hence it reveals a lack of good sense, or of a proper appreciation of values, to regard it as a dishonour for the apostles and their successors (who have been constituted judges over matters of greater moment) not to sit in judgment concerning the things of earth. Why should they not disdain to give judgment about our contemptible earthly possessions, who are appointed to judge even angels in heavenly places (1 Cor. vi. 3) ? Consequently, it is on the sins of men, not with regard to their possessions, that thy judicial power ought to be exercised ; for it is on account of the former thou hast received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, not for the sake of the latter ; neither is it proprietors, but prevaricators thou art told to exclude. " That you may know," said Christ,

" that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then said He to the man sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house " (Matt. ix. 6). Tell me, which power and office dost thou consider to be the greater, that of forgiving sins, or that of dividing possessions ? But in truth there can be no comparison. These vile terrestrial things have their own proper judges, namely, the princes and rulers of the earth. Why then wouldst thou invade a province that belongs not to thee ? Wherefore put thy sickle into another man's harvest ? It is not that thou art unworthy to give judgment concerning such things, but rather this is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be occupied with matters of more consequence. Still occasion may sometimes require of thee to arbitrate civil suits. Whenever this happens, remember the words of St. Paul, " Know you not that the saints shall judge this world ? And if the world shall be judged by you ; are you unworthy to judge the smallest matters ? " (1 Cor. vi. 2).

CHAPTER, VII.

THAT THE PONTIFF SHOULD GIVE HIS FIRST ATTENTION
TO PIETY AND TO THE CONSIDERATION OF ETERNAL
THINGS.

But it is one thing to adjudge civil questions occasionally when necessity requires, and quite another to devote thyself freely and exclusively to this office, as if it were something great and worthy to engross the attention of the Vicar of Christ. This, therefore, and a great deal besides to the same purpose, should I say

to thee, if I desired to speak of what relates to fortitude, to fittingness, and to truth. }But "because the days are evil" (Ephes. v. 16), let it suffice to have admonished thee not to give thyself up completely or uninterruptedly to action, but to reserve for consideration something of thyself, of thy heart, and of thy time. Bear in mind, however, that if I am thus moderate it is more from necessity than from reasons of equity; although it is perhaps a part of equity to yield to necessity. For if it were possible to choose what is the more becoming, "piety, which is profitable to all things" (1 Tim. iv. 8), should in all things and before all things get an absolute preference, and be cultivated either singularly or most especially, as reason can irrefragably prove. Wouldst thou know what is piety? It is nothing other than the practice of consideration. Perhaps thou wilt tell me that in this I differ from the holy man who defined piety to be the worship of God (Job xxviii. 28, juxta LXX)? But such is not the case. If thou wilt examine the matter closely thou shalt find that my words express the Patriarch's meaning, although only in part. What, I ask, belongs more essentially to the worship of God than that which He Himself exhorts us to do by the mouth of the Psalmist, saying, "Be still and see that I am God" (Ps. xlv. 11)? Now this is the principal function of consideration. Besides, what can be so "profitable to all things" as that which, with a certain kindly presumption, usurps even the office of action, by forestalling, so to speak, and preordaining whatever has to be done? And very necessary is such anticipation. For otherwise actions which, if preconceived and premeditated, might have been of advantage,

become perchance rather a source of danger through being performed without forethought. Thou thyself, I am sure, canst recall from thine own experience many instances of this, in connection with the decision of lawsuits, with the taking of important counsels, and with weighty matters of all kinds.

The first effect of consideration is to purify the mind which has given it birth. Then it regulates the affections, directs the actions, cuts away all excesses, forms the character, orders and ennobles the life, and lastly, it endows the understanding with a knowledge of things divine and human. It is consideration which distinguishes what is confused, unites what is divided, collects what is scattered, discovers what is concealed, searches out what is true, examines what is probable, exposes what is false and deceptive. It is consideration which preordains what we have to do, and passes in review what has been accomplished, so that nothing disordered may remain in the mind, nor anything requiring correction. It is consideration, finally, which in prosperity makes provision for adversity, and thus endures misfortune, as it were, without feeling it, of which the former is the part of prudence, and the latter the function of fortitude.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE VIRTUES AS REVEALED BY CONSIDERATION.

Consideration will also show thee the beautiful concord and connection which exists between the virtues, and how they depend one upon the other. Thus, for

example, thou mayest already understand that prudence is the mother of fortitude, and that every species of daring, which is not the offspring of prudence, ought to be accounted, not so much an act of fortitude as of temerity. It is likewise consideration which, seated as an arbiter—if I may express it so—between the pleasures of sense and the necessities of the body, appoints the proper limits for both, allowing and giving to the latter what is sufficient, withholding from the former what is superfluous. In this way it produces a third virtue which is called temperance, and which observes the golden mean in the use of sensible goods. For in the light of consideration it appears as much a violation of temperance to refuse obstinately what one has need of, as to indulge oneself in superfluities. I say, then, that it is the part of temperance not only to retrench what is superfluous, but also to allow what is needful. This doctrine is favoured by the authority of St. Paul, yea, rather, it is explicitly taught by him, where he warns us not to “make provision for the flesh in its concupiscences” (Rom. xiii. 14). For by the words, “make not provision for the flesh,” he cuts away superfluities, and by adding, “in its concupiscences,” he shows that he has no intention of excluding what is necessary. In my opinion, therefore, it would be no bad definition of temperance to say that it is a virtue which inclines us neither to exceed nor to curtail what is necessary, according to the counsel of the Philosopher—“Nothing too much.” *

* “*Nequid nimis.*” It is not known who is the author of this aphorism. Writers have attributed it to Homer, to the Spartan philosopher Chilo (*ob.* 597 B.C.), one of the Seven Wise Men, and even to the god Apollo, in whose temple at Delphi it was inscribed.—(Translator.)

Then, as regards justice, which, as thou knowest, is one of the four cardinal virtues, can there be a doubt that the soul which would acquire it has to begin with consideration? For, manifestly, she must reflect upon herself before she can accommodate her own disposition to the rule of justice, which prescribes that we should neither do to another the evil we are unwilling should be done to ourselves, nor omit to do to another the good we desire for ourselves. In these two canons of conduct the virtue of justice entirely consists.

But justice is by no means a solitary virtue. To make this manifest, let us examine together the beautiful relation and harmony uniting it with temperance, and again uniting these two with the other two virtues above-mentioned, namely, prudence and fortitude. Now I have said that it is a part of justice not to do to another what we do not wish should be done to ourselves, and that the virtue is complete when we add what the Lord enjoins, "All things, therefore, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them" (Matt. vii. 12). But evidently neither one nor the other of these rules can have any relation to justice, unless our own will, from which the whole form of the virtue is derived, is so ordered that we neither seek for ourselves anything superfluous nor obstinately refuse what is necessary—that is to say, unless we have acquired the virtue of temperance. Besides, justice itself can only be just by keeping within the bounds which temperance prescribes for it. For that justice which is not ruled and moderated by temperance, merits no commendation, as the Wise Man implies where he says, "Be not over just" (Eccles. vii. 17). Yea, even wisdom refuses not to submit to the

restrictions of temperance. Hence the Apostle, "according to the wisdom given him by God" (2 Peter iii. 15), warns us "not to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety" (Rom. xii. 3). On the other hand, the Lord Himself, in the Gospel, shows that justice is necessary to temperance, where He reproves the temperance of those who fasted in order to gain the esteem of men (Matt. vi. 16). There was temperance indeed in their use of food, but there was no justice in their hearts, because they sought by their fasting, not to please God, but only to win human favour. Again, how can there be either justice or temperance apart from fortitude? For evidently there is need of fortitude, and of more than ordinary fortitude, to restrain our desires and our repugnances within the narrow limits of too much and too little, so that the will shall be content with that medial measure, bare, pure, unique, constant, perfectly uniform, as being equally removed from extremes on every side, which alone is recognised as the province of virtue.

Tell me now, if thou canst, to which of these three virtues in particular, to fortitude, justice, or temperance, wouldst thou prefer to have assigned this golden mean? For it is so perfectly coincident with all that it seems to be proper to each. Shall we say that this and this alone is virtue? But then we should have to deny a plurality of virtues—since all would be one. Therefore, as without it there can be no virtue at all, perhaps we had better say that it is the one intimate essence and soul, so to speak, of all the virtues, wherein all are so united as to appear not many but one—the more especially, because the different virtues have it in common, not by mere participation, but as held

by each one whole and entire. Thus, for instance, what is more essential to justice than the golden mean? For if in any respect it goes outside that mean, it no longer, as is plain, renders everyone his due, which, nevertheless, is its specific function. To temperance, likewise, what is so essential, since this virtue owes its very name to the fact that it excludes whatever lies outside the limits of moderation? I think thou wilt be ready to acknowledge that the same mean is equally a part of fortitude, to which belongs in a special manner the duty of forcibly defending its integrity against the invasion of the vices that attempt to oppress it on all sides, and thus of preserving it as the solid foundation of good and the firm seat of the virtues. Consequently, to keep the golden mean is the essence of justice, of temperance, and of fortitude. But wherein, then, do they differ? See if it be not in the manner. For justice preserves the mean in the affection, fortitude gives it its force and stability, whilst to temperance appertains its possession and use. It only remains to show that prudence is not excluded from this solidarity. Is it not prudence which first discovers and brings to light the golden mean, when it has been long neglected and put aside by the soul, stowed away out of sight, so to speak, through the envy of the passions, and buried, as it were, in the darkness of oblivion? Therefore I say to thee, by few is the mean of virtue found, because few are possessed of prudence. And so what justice seeks, prudence finds, fortitude defends, and temperance possesses.

However, I have no intention to treat here of the virtues in particular. The foregoing remarks have been

made merely for the purpose of exciting thee to apply thyself to consideration, which leads us to the knowledge of such truths as those I have been discussing. For wasted surely will thy life have been, if no part thereof be devoted to so useful and sacred a study.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT THE PRECEDENTS OF RECENT PONTIFFS OUGHT TO BE GRADUALLY ABANDONED AND THOSE OF THE MORE ANCIENT FOLLOWED.

What would be the case wert thou on a sudden to devote thyself entirely to the study of this Christian philosophy? That, certainly, was not the custom of thy more immediate predecessors. And consequently such a change would be sure to excite against thee the indignation of many, who would condemn thee for having turned aside so abruptly from the footsteps of thy fathers. For thou wouldst seem to have censured the Pontiffs whose example thou hadst ceased to follow. Moreover, men would apply to thee the vulgar saying, "He becomes an object of admiration to all who does what nobody else does," supposing thee to be actuated by the love of notoriety. Besides, thou couldst not possibly correct all the mistakes of thy predecessors at once and on a sudden, and reduce their extravagances to order. Time will bring thee favourable occasions, when, according to the wisdom given thee by God, thou mayest gradually and seasonably address thyself to this task. In the meantime, be careful to draw all the good thou canst from the evil which thou hast

inherited from others. But if we wish to be guided by better precedents than those of the late Popes,* there have not been wanting Roman Pontiffs who, in the midst of the most important occupations, managed to find opportunities for the practices of piety. Thus, at a time when Rome was threatened with a siege and when the sword of the Barbarian hung suspended over the necks of the people, even at such a time the blessed Pope Gregory continued undisturbed to "write wisdom in leisure" (Eccles. xxxviii. 25). For, as we learn from the preface to his book, he was then actually occupied in expounding, with equal diligence and elegance, the last and most difficult part of the prophecies of Ezechiel.†

* This must not be understood as implying that the immediate predecessors of Eugenius were in any sense bad men. Nothing could be more untrue. We have to go back to Benedict IX. (1032-48), that is, over fifteen pontificates, before we can find a single Pope whose personal character is not above reproach, whereas we meet with many who were eminent for holiness, such as B. Urban II. (1088-1099), B. Victor III. (1087), St. Gregory VII. (1073-1087), and St. Leo IX. (1049-1054). But the Popes of this period were rather men of action than of contemplation, and that perhaps more from necessity than from choice; for the controversy on investitures belongs to this time, as well as the long-continued struggle between the Holy See and the Hohenstaufens, to say nothing of the trouble with the antipopes. St. Bernard, therefore, only means that the recent Popes were not the best models for his spiritual son, whom he desired to be, above all things, a man of prayer.—(Translator.)

† In the Preface to the second book of his *Homilies on Ezechias*, St. Gregory the Great writes: "We are aware that Agilulphus, King of the Lombards, has crossed the Po, and is advancing with all haste to lay siege to our city. Consider, therefore, brethren, how incapable is a mind, perturbed and agitated by such fears, of penetrating the dark and mystical meanings of this inspired text."—(Translator.)

CHAPTER X.

THE ABUSES AND FRAUDULENT PRACTICES OF ADVOCATES, JUDGES, AND PROCURATORS ARE SEVERELY CONDEMNED.

But thou wilt tell me—what I admit—that we are now living in other days, with other customs prevailing, that we are no longer on the eve but in the very midst of times of special danger. For behold, fraud and intrigue and violence have “prevailed upon the earth” (Gen. vii. 24). There are many accusers, and but few defenders; the powerful everywhere oppress the poor. “How then,” thou wilt ask, “can I be wanting to the oppressed? How can I refuse to ‘execute judgment for them that suffer wrong’ (Ps. cxlv. 7)? And unless lawsuits are instituted, unless both sides are heard, how can I judge between the parties?” Thou sayest well. But I am not objecting to the lawsuits. Let them be carried on by all means, yet only as they ought. As for the usual way of conducting them, I pronounce it abominable: it would disgrace the forum, to say nothing of the Church of God. I wonder how thy religious ears can bear to listen to the pleaders’ disputes and logomachies, which are better calculated to conceal than to discover the truth. Put a stop to this pernicious abuse, restrain the tongues of these idle chatters and close their lying lips. They are the men that “have taught their tongue to speak lies” (Jer. ix. 5), eloquent in opposing justice, learned in defending falsehood. “They are wise to do evils” (Jer. iv. 22), and skilled to confound truth. These are they who presume to instruct those from whom they should

rather receive instruction, who labour to establish, not what they have ascertained to be true, but whatever possesses the merit of having been excogitated by themselves, who of their own malice devise slanders against innocence, who destroy the simplicity of truth, and obstruct the paths of judgment. The easiest and readiest way of clearing up a case is by a short and simple recitation of the facts. Consequently, I would have thee to decide after a brief and careful hearing those suits which it is necessary thou shouldst adjudge in person—this necessity will not extend to all—and to exclude all those unnecessary delays which are designed for the purpose either of defeating justice or of multiplying fees. Let the cause of the widow have free access to thy tribunal, and the cause of the poor, and of him from whom thou hast nothing to hope for. There will be many other suits, the decision of which thou canst entrust to subordinates, and a large number may be dismissed at once as unworthy of any hearing at all. For what is the use of granting a hearing to those whose “sins are manifest, going before them to judgment” (1 Tim. v. 24)? Yet so brazen is the impudence of some that, although the whole face of their cause bears the manifest stamp of ambition, they still have the effrontery to ask for a hearing, thus proclaiming their guilt to the knowledge of many, whereas, in truth, their own conscience should suffice to confound them. Hitherto there has been no one to repress the audacity of such persons, and consequently they have increased both in numbers and in shamelessness. Besides, it seems somehow as if one guilty mind has no fear of being exposed to the knowledge of others like itself. Perhaps the reason is that where are all defiled the

filthiness of one attracts no special attention. What avaricious man, for instance, what libertine was ever ashamed of another avaricious man, of another libertine? Therefore, since the Church is now full of ambitious persons, she has no more reason to be scandalised at the aims and intrigues of ambition than has a robber's den to be shocked at the plunder which fills it.

CHAPTER XI.

THAT THE PONTIFF SHOULD FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST IN DEALING WITH SACRILEGIOUS TRAFFIC.

If thou wouldst be a true disciple of Christ, let thy zeal be enkindled and thy authority exerted against this impudence, this universal plague. Look at the example which the Master has given thee, and remember His words, "If any man minister to Me, let him follow Me" (John xii. 26). He, so far from granting a hearing to the sacrilegious traffickers, made a whip to scourge them out of the temple. He would neither listen to their words nor waste His own upon them; for He did not sit to judge their cause, but pursued them with chastisement. Nevertheless He did not hide from them the reason of His severity, telling them that they had turned the house of prayer into a place of traffic (John ii. 16). "Go, and do thou in like manner" (Luke x. 37). Let those who are now imitating the traffickers of the temple, feel ashamed of thy countenance, if that is possible; otherwise, let them dread thy anger. For thou also art armed with a scourge. Let the money-changers tremble; let their money be

to them a source, not of confidence, but of fear ; let them be anxious to hide their gold from thee, as knowing that thou art more ready to pour it out than to accept it. By acting in this manner with constancy and zeal, thou shalt gain many, converting the hunters after filthy lucre to more honourable occupations ; and thou shalt also preserve many from the temptation to this vice, for they will not dare to attempt what they behold thee so much opposed to. A further advantage from this mode of acting is, that it will enable thee to secure those intervals of leisure which I have so earnestly recommended. For thou shalt have many a vacant hour to devote to consideration, if, according to my counsel, thou wilt dismiss some causes unheard, refer others to subordinates, and decide such as are worthy to come before thine own tribunal after as brief an investigation as is consistent with thoroughness.

I have something more to say on this subject of consideration, but I will reserve it for another book. And so I will now bring the present to its conclusion, lest the prolongation of so caustic a discourse should be for thee as a double burden.

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE SAINT APOLOGISES FOR THE ILL-SUCCESS OF THE SECOND CRUSADE.*

MOST Holy Father Eugenius, I have not forgotten the promise I made thee so long since, and now at last I am setting myself to fulfil it. I certainly

* In 1144 the capture of Edessa by the Mussulmans spread sorrow and consternation throughout the whole of Christendom. Jerusalem and the Holy Places would be soon again in the hands of the infidel, and the blood of the Crusaders would have been shed in vain. Pope Eugenius, then in exile at Viterbo, resolved to make a supreme effort to save the situation. He commissioned St. Bernard, the greatest orator of his time, to preach the Second Crusade. No need to describe the Saint's triumphal progress through Europe. Suffice it to say that his irresistible eloquence and his personal magnetism and the multitudinous miracles which confirmed his mission and recalled the apostolic age, aroused the world to a pitch of enthusiasm scarcely paralleled in history. The chivalry of France and Germany went forth to do battle for the Holy Sepulchre. But alas! instead of the glorious victory promised them by the Abbot of Clairvaux, disaster and disappointment dogged their steps, until after a two years' campaign, the few who survived returned sadly to their homes. St. Bernard was held responsible for the loss of two magnificent armies, and he found himself the object of universal indignation: his disgrace was proportionate to his previous popularity. For a whole year he submitted in silence to the unjust attacks made upon him. At length, in 1149, he wrote his Apology and sent it to Pope Eugenius, as an exordium to the second book of the *de Consideratione*. It is consoling to think that the gentle Saint was not left altogether unbefriended in this his hour of sorrow. Some of the most eminent writers of the day took up his defence with energy. Thus the historian Otho of Frisengen, who took part in the expedition, wrote, "If we say that the holy Abbot was inspired by the Spirit of God to animate us to this war, but that by our pride and licentiousness we have disregarded his salutary counsel, and that we have therefore reaped, as the harvest of our disorders, the loss of goods and of men, by

should feel ashamed of the delay, were I conscious that it proceeded from negligence or from any want of respect. The cause, however, has been nothing such, nothing, in fact, but the difficulties of the times whereupon, as thou knowest, we have fallen, and which threatened to put an end to my existence itself, to say nothing of my literary labours. For the Lord, provoked by our sins, chastised us with so much severity that He seemed to have judged the world before the time (1 Cor. iv. 5), in equity indeed, but forgetful of His mercy (Ps. ix. 9). He hath spared neither His people nor His name. Do

misery and the sword, we shall say nothing but what is conformable to reason and justified by the examples of antiquity." Similarly, William of Newbridge, who declared that the Christian armies should seek the cause of their calamities in their own vices and disorders. Abbot John of Casa Mari sent the following letter to the Saint himself: "I am told that thou, my well-beloved Father, art grieving still over this affair—I mean the expedition to Jerusalem, which has not had the success we desired. It is on this account that I take the liberty of humbly declaring to thee what God put into my heart on the matter, when my mind was very much taken up with it; remembering that the Lord sometimes reveals to little ones those things which are hidden from the prudent, and that Jethro, though a stranger, gave advice to Moses who spoke face to face with God. I think, therefore, my dearest Father, that the Almighty has drawn much fruit from this Crusade, although not exactly in the manner in which the Crusaders expected. If they had conducted themselves like Christians, that is to say, loyally and piously, in this war, the Saviour would have been present with them, and caused their arms to triumph; but as they gave themselves up to all sorts of crimes, and as God, when He suggested the expedition, foresaw all the dangers into which they would fall, His providence made even these events to serve the designs of His mercy, and He sent them such misfortunes and checks that, being purified by crosses, they might attain to the kingdom of heaven. Many of those who have returned from the Crusade have confessed that they beheld numbers die rejoicing in their fate, fearing to fall back into their sins should they return to Europe. And in order that thou mayest feel no doubt of what I assert, I will confide to thee as if under the seal of confession that the holy Martyrs John and Paul, the two Patrons of our church, have more than once visited us; and having been

they not now say amongst the Gentiles, "Where is their God?" (Ps. cxiii. 2). And small wonder. For the children of the Church, those who were numbered amongst the Christian people, have been overthrown in the wilderness, either consumed by famine or slain with the sword. So "Contention * was poured forth upon their princes, and the Lord caused them to wander where there was no passing, and out of the way"

asked what we ought to think about the Crusades, they answered that many of the Christians who fell in the holy wars have been called to fill the places of the fallen angels. Know also that they spoke of thee with the greatest respect and honour, and predicted thine approaching death [which occurred in 1153]. Since, therefore, this enterprise has attained its end, though not according to the will of man but of God, it becomes thy wisdom to find thy consolation in Him Whose glory alone thou art concerned for; for it was in His foresight of the salutary effects of this enterprise that He gave thee the grace and power to put it into execution. May He vouchsafe now to crown thy career happily and to grant me the happiness of contemplating with thee His divine and adorable Majesty in heaven." Cf. Ratisbonne, *History of St. Bernard*, pp. 457-8, Eng. Trans.

It is a pleasure to find a modern author, and one so little disposed to be unduly partial to the saints as Mr. Frederic Harrison, acknowledging that even with regard to the object for which it was designed, the Second Crusade was not unsuccessful. In his famous Essay on "Bernard of Clairvaux," in whose life he discovers "elements of beauty and greatness which as yet have not so perfect a type in the whole story of human civilization," the redoubtable Agnostic says, "The Crusade was opened and its author lived to see its utter disaster. The shock to his hopes embittered his few last years of life. He saw in it only a judgment upon men's sinfulness and perversity. He could not see how largely it had contributed to its true object; how the wave of Islam had been checked; its energy exhausted; how Europe had been knit together and brought into relation with the East; and how the seeds had been gathered for Science and Industry. . ."

— (Translator)

* "Effusa est contentio super principes." This was the common reading in St. Bernard's day. But it has since been corrected in accordance with the Greek to "Effusa est contemptio (*ἐφούδριον*) super principes" ("contempt was poured forth upon their princes").—(Translator.)

(Ps. cvi. 40). " Destruction and unhappiness are in their ways " (Ps. xiii. 3) ; and fear, and woe, and confusion " in the inner chambers of their kings " (Ps. civ. 30). Oh, " how confounded have been the feet of them that brought good tidings and that preached peace " (Is. lii. 7) ! I have said, " Peace, peace, and there was no peace " (Jer. vi. 14) ; I have promised peace, " and behold trouble " (Jer. xiv. 19). It looks as if I had acted imprudently in preaching this Crusade, or had " used lightness " (2 Cor. i. 17). But in truth " I so ran therein not as at an uncertainty " (1 Cor. ix. 26), since I was acting in obedience to thy commands, Holy Father, or rather to the commands of God, made known through thee. Then " why have we fasted, and He hath not regarded : have humbled our souls, and He hath not taken notice " (Is. viii. 3) ? For " after all these things His indignation is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still " (Is. ix. 21). How patiently He still continues to endure the sacrilegious tongues, and the blasphemous words of the Egyptians, who say, " He craftily brought them out that He might kill them in the desert " (Exod. xxxii. 12) ! " The judgments of the Lord are true " (Ps. xviii. 10) indeed : who does not know that ? Yet this present judgment " is a great deep " (Ps. xxx. 7), so dark and unfathomable that he who is not scandalised thereat deserves (so it seems to me) to be called blessed.

How is it, then, that the rashness of men dares to reprove what they cannot understand ? Let us remember the divine decrees which are from everlasting (Ps. xxiv. 6), for perchance in them we shall find some consolation, like the Prophet who said, " I remembered

O Lord, Thy judgments of old, and I was comforted " (Ps. cxviii. 52). What I am about to say now is unknown to no one, and yet, at this moment, seems to be unknown to all. For such is the perversity of the human heart, that the truths which we know well enough when they are of no use to us, we seem not to know at all when the knowledge is most needful. When Moses proposed to lead the people of God out of Egypt, he promised to bring them to a better land (Exod. iii. 37). For otherwise, when would that people, who savoured nothing but the things of the earth,—when, I ask, would that carnal people have consented to follow him? So he led them forth from the land of bondage: but he did not lead them into the land of promise. Nevertheless, it would not have been just to accuse Moses of imprudence, because of the bitter disappointment of the hopes he had inspired. For he acted in everything according to the divine command, "the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed" (Mark xvi. 20). But thou wilt tell me that this people was stiff-necked (Exod. xxxii. 9), and always contended stubbornly against the Lord and against Moses His servant. Yes, I admit they were both incredulous and disobedient. But what of the Christian host that recently set out for the same destination, relying on a similar promise? Let them answer for themselves. Where is the need to accuse them of what they so spontaneously avow? I will therefore content myself with this one remark: How could they have made progress who (unlike the living creatures of the Prophet's vision) were always turning back as they walked (Ezech. i. 17)? Was there a moment during the whole journey when they

were not returning in heart to Egypt? And if the faithless Jews were overthrown in the desert and "perished by reason of their iniquity" (Ps. lxxii. 19), ought it to surprise us that the Christians who committed the same crimes, have suffered the same chastisement? No one surely will pretend that the fate of the former belied the promises of God. Consequently, neither did the destruction of the latter. For the promises made by God can never be prejudicial to His justice. But listen now to another example.

Benjamin had sinned, and all the other tribes girded themselves for vengeance, with the sanction of the Lord. He Himself designated the man who should lead them forth to the war. And so they fell upon their enemies, relying upon their superior numbers, the justice of their cause, and especially upon the divine favour. But how "terrible is God in His counsels over the sons of men" (Ps. lxxv. 5)! The avengers of crime fled before the criminals, the many were routed by the few! But they had recourse again to the Lord. "And He answered them: Go up against them." They went up a second time, and a second time were scattered and put to flight. Thus, on the first occasion with the divine approval, on the second by the divine command, the just engaged the wicked in battle and suffered defeat. But they showed themselves the stronger in faith in proportion as they had less success in arms. Now what, thinkest thou, would the Christians do to me if at my persuasion they again made war upon the Saracens and were again discomfited? Dost thou suppose they would be willing to listen to me did I exhort them for the third time to undertake the same expedition and the same hardships, which had twice

already ended in such bitter disappointment? And nevertheless, the Israelites, undismayed by the failure of their first and of their second attempt, made ready for a third, and were this time successful (Judges xix.-xx.). But perhaps it will be said to me, "How do we know that this word hath come forth from the Lord? What sign dost thou show unto us that we may believe in thee?" (John ii. 18). Holy Father, it is not for me to answer this question: I must not be asked to do violence to my modesty.* Rather do thou answer both for me and for thyself, according to the things which thou hast heard and seen, or at least according as the Lord shall enlighten thee.

But perhaps thou art wondering why I have discoursed at such length on a question so foreign, seemingly, to the subject I proposed to treat. It is not, however, that I have forgotten my theme, but I do not consider the foregoing remarks irrelevant thereto. For, as thou rememberest, I have taken it upon me to address thy sacred majesty on the subject of con-

* We have here a delicate allusion to the miracles which he wrought whilst preaching the Crusade. These miracles are amongst the best authenticated in ecclesiastical history. They were recorded, according as they occurred, by eye-witnesses of unimpeachable veracity, such as Hermann, Bishop of Constance, and his chaplain Everhard, the Abbot Baldwin, Philip, Archdeacon of Lyons, the Saint's two secretaries, and Alexander of Cologne. Little wonder, then, that the critical Protestant historian, Luden, felt obliged to say, "It is absolutely impossible to doubt the authenticity of St. Bernard's miracles" (apud Ratisbonne). But what is impossible to unprejudiced science presents no difficulty to bigotted ignorance. "At the present hour," writes the apostate Gibbon, *splendide mendax*, "such prodigies will not obtain credit beyond the precincts of Clairvaux; but in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick, who were presented to the man of God, it is impossible for us to ascertain the separate shares of accident, of fancy, of imposture, and of fiction" (*Decline and Fall*, vii. 249).—(Translator.)

sideration. And surely the matter wherewith I have been occupied is important enough to call for the most diligent consideration. But if great questions ought to engage the attention of great men, to whom does the consideration of this matter belong so properly as to thee who hast no peer upon earth? But it is thy part to act in the present circumstances according to the power and wisdom given thee from above. It would ill become a lowly religious to dictate to thee what course thou shouldst pursue, saying this or that must be done in such or such a way. For me it is enough to have intimated to thy Holiness that *something* ought to be done which shall edify the Church and "stop the mouth of them that speak wicked things" (Ps. lxii. 12).

I have set down the above remarks by way of apology, in order to furnish thee with facts whereby thou mayest be able to justify not only me but thyself also, if not to the minds of those men who estimate enterprises according to their visible result, at least to thine own heart and conscience. The testimony of a good conscience is the best of all apologies. For the rest, "to me it is a very small thing to be judged by" (1 Cor. iv. 3) them "that call evil good and good evil: that put darkness for light and light for darkness" (Is. v. 20). And since it is inevitable that men shall murmur, I had rather hear them murmuring against us than against the Lord. Well shall it be with me if He condescends to make use of me as a buckler for His own defence. Gladly do I expose myself to the bitter tongues of slanderers and to the poisoned darts of blasphemers, so that He may not be touched. I am content to take ignominy for my portion, provided

only the glory of God shall thus be safeguarded. Who will grant me that I may glory like the Psalmist, saying with him, "Because for Thy sake I have borne reproach, shame hath covered my face" (Ps. lxiii. 8). It is surely a great glory for me to be associated with Christ, Who has said by His Prophet, "The reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon Me" (Ps. lxiii. 10).

But it is now time to return and to resume the orderly treatment of the subject I have undertaken to discuss.

CHAPTER II.

HOW CONSIDERATION DIFFERS FROM CONTEMPLATION.

In the first place, then, observe what I mean by consideration. I would not have thee to understand it as identical in all respects with contemplation, because, whereas this latter occupies itself with truths already known, the former is concerned with the investigation of truth. According to this sense, contemplation may be defined as the true and certain intuition of any object by the intellect, or as the certain apprehension of truth ; * and consideration as an intense exercise of thought in inquiry, or as an intense application of the mind to the investigation of truth. Nevertheless the two terms are commonly used without distinction.

* See St. Bernard's *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles* (Mount Melleray Translation), vol. ii. p. 95, note.—(Translator.)

CHAPTER III.

ON THE FOURFOLD OBJECT OF CONSIDERATION.

Now, with respect to the matter of consideration, there are four objects which, as I think, ought particularly to engage thy attention, and in the order in which they are here set down : thou thyself, things beneath thee, things about thee, things above thee. Let thy consideration begin with thyself, for if thine own self be neglected, attention to other things can be of little avail. "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?" (Matt. xvi. 26). Even wert thou never so wise, I tell thee plainly that there is wisdom still wanting to thee so long as thou art not wise for thyself. And wouldst thou like to know how much is wanting? All of it, so it seems to me. For though thou knewest all mysteries, though thou knewest all things on the far-spreading earth, in the height of heaven, and in the profound depths of the sea : if withal thou wert ignorant of thyself, thou wouldst be like to a man who should try to build without a foundation, preparing not a house but a ruin. Whatever structure thou mayest erect outside thyself, will be but as a heap of dust exposed before the face of the wind. He, therefore, is not truly wise, who is not wise for himself. The truly wise will be wise for himself particularly, and will be the very first to drink of the waters of his own well. Therefore, I say to thee again : let thy consideration begin with thyself. Yet not only that, but with thyself let it also conclude. Whithersoever it may wander, let it always return home to thyself with the fruits of salvation. Be thou

the first object of thy consideration, and be thou also the last. Take an example from the Supreme Father of all, Who sends forth whilst at the same time retaining within Himself His Word Everlasting. Thy word is thy consideration. Then, let it so issue from thee as not to leave thee ; let it so proceed as not to withdraw from thee ; let it go forth in such a way as not to abandon thee. When it is a question of eternal salvation, let no one be nearer and dearer to thee than the only son of thy mother. Consequently, let nothing occupy thy mind which would be prejudicial to thine own salvation. But that is not enough. I should rather have said : let nothing occupy thy mind *except what conduces to thy salvation*. Any object whatsoever that presents itself to thy consideration, if it seems to thee entirely useless with regard to this all important end, ought to be rejected at once.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE THREE POINTS PROPOSED FOR SELF-CONSIDERATION, OF WHICH THE FIRST IS BRIEFLY DEALT WITH.

The consideration of thyself may be divided into three points. Thou mayest consider what thou art, who thou art, and what kind thou art : what thou art by nature, who thou art in rank and dignity, what kind thou art in character and disposition. Thus, it would be an answer to the first question to say that thou art a man ; to the second, that thou art Pope or Sovereign Pontiff ; to the third, that thou art gentle, kind, and so forth. And although the investigation of

the first of these points belongs more to the disciple of Aristotle than to the successor of St. Peter, there is something nevertheless in the definition usually given of man, viz., a mortal rational animal,* which, if it seems good to thee, thou mayest with profit consider more attentively. Such a study has nothing in it which would be out of keeping either with thy dignity as Pontiff or with thy profession as a monk, whereas it might contribute importantly to thy spiritual progress. For the consideration of the truth that thou art both rational and mortal will yield thee this double fruit, that what is mortal in thee shall serve to humble what is rational, whilst, on the other hand, what is rational in thee shall console that which is mortal: two results, neither of which will be neglected by the man of prudence. If any further aspects of this present question remain to be examined, they shall receive due attention later on; and perhaps I shall be able to discuss them with greater profit where they can be studied in connection with the other points of my subject.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE SECOND POINT FOR SELF-CONSIDERATION.

Consider in the next place who thou art now and who thou wert formerly. Yet it seems to me that I

* So long as the angels were believed to have bodies, and therefore to be animals, it was necessary to use "mortal" as a specific difference in the definition of man. St. Augustine (*De Ord.*, l. ii., c. ii.) defines man as above, "a mortal rational animal," commenting upon the words in much the same manner as our Author, and St. Gregory the Great speaks of the angels as (immortal) rational animals (*Homil. x. in Evangel.*). See also St. Bernard's fifth sermon on the Canticle of Canticles. —(Translator.)

ought to say nothing concerning this latter point, but should rather leave it to the silence of thine own reflections. However, I will say this much: that it would be a shame for thee if, after having lived in so perfect a state, thou wert to show thyself in anything less than perfect. Why shouldst thou not blush to be found little in great things, when thou canst remember to have been great in little things? Thou hast not yet forgotten thy first profession; although thou hast been torn from its protection, the love and the recollection of it remain with thee still. It will be very profitable for thee to keep the thought of it before thy mind in all thy injunctions, in all thy judgments, and in all thy undertakings, for it will make thee a despiser of honour even in the height of honour—and that is no small benefit. Never suffer it to leave thy memory: it will be as a shield to protect thee from even this fatal arrow: “And man when he was in honour did not understand” (Ps. xlviii. 13).

Therefore, speak thus to thyself: “‘Formerly I was an abject in the house of my God’* (Ps. lxxxiii. 11). How then has it come to pass that I am lifted up out of poverty and abjection and set over peoples and kingdoms? Who am I and what is my father’s house (1 Par. xvii. 16) that I should be placed above princes? Undoubtedly, He Who said to me, ‘Friend, go up higher’ (Luke xiv. 10) expects that I shall prove His friend. It is not expedient for me, therefore, to disappoint His expectation. For He has power to cast down as well as to lift up. And it will then be of no use to complain, ‘Having lifted me up, Thou hast

* In the abbey of Clairvaux it was the office of the future Pontiff to attend to the community stove.—(Translator.)

thrown me down ' ' (Ps. ci. 11). Greatness of elevation has nothing that can flatter thee when the solicitude which accompanies it is greater still. There is danger in the former, but the latter is the proof of friendship. Thou shouldst endeavour, consequently, to stand the test well unless thou desirest hereafter " with shame to take the lowest place " (Luke xiv. 9).

CHAPTER VI.

ON WHAT OUGHT TO BE THE OCCUPATION OF A PRINCE OF THE CHURCH. :

That thou hast been raised to the pinnacle of honour and power is a fact undeniable. But for what purpose hast thou been thus elevated? Here is a question that calls for the most serious consideration. It was not, as I suppose, merely that thou mightest enjoy the glory of lordship. For when the Prophet Jeremias was similarly exalted, he heard the voice of the Lord saying to him, " Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant " (Jer. i. 10). What is there here suggestive of pomp or glory? Have we not rather the imposition of a toilsome spiritual administration, metaphorically expressed in the language of agriculture? Consequently let us likewise, that we may not think too highly of ourselves,* always bear this in mind, that a duty of service has been imposed on us, and not a dominion

* I have here followed the reading " ut non multum sentiamus de nobis." In most editions the " non " is omitted, and the sense becomes, " However highly we may think of ourselves."—(Translator.)

conferred. Surely I am not greater than the Prophet ; and although I am perhaps equal to him in power, in merit of life he is immeasurably my superior. Revolve these thoughts in thy mind, and do thou that teachest others, teach also thyself (Rom. ii. 21). Look upon thyself as one of the prophets. Is not this honour enough for thee ? Yea, and too much. But by the grace of God thou art what thou art (1 Cor. xv. 10). What is that, dost thou inquire ? A prophet, let us say. Wouldst thou be more than a prophet ? If thou art wise, thou wilt be content with the measure which the Lord hath meted to thee. For " that which is over and above this is of evil " (Matt. v. 37). Learn from the Prophet's example to use thy position of eminence not so much for the purpose of showing thy authority, as for doing the work which the time requires. Learn that thou hast more need of a hoe than of a sceptre for fulfilling the functions of a prophet. For the Prophet Jeremias was raised up, not to rule over the land, but to cleanse it of noxious growths. Does it seem to thee that thou also shalt find something to do in the field of the Lord ? Yea, I promise thee thou shalt find exceeding much. The prophets could not complete the whole work of purgation ; they left something to occupy the zeal of the apostles who came after them ; and the apostles similarly have left something for thee. Something too shall inevitably remain after thee for thy successor, and he must leave something to his successor, and he again to his, and so on to the end of the world. Remember that even at the eleventh hour the labourers are reprov'd for idleness and sent to work in the vineyard (Matt. xx. 6, 7). The holy apostles, thy predecessors, were

told by Christ that " the harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few " (Matt. ix. 37). Do thou therefore claim for thyself the inheritance of thy fathers. For " if a son an heir also " (Gal. iv. 7). But in order to show that thou art a true heir of the apostles, apply thyself with zeal to the work of the ministry. Otherwise thou also mayest hear addressed to thee the words of reproof, " Why standest thou here all the day idle ? " (Matt. xx. 6).

But much less oughtest thou to be found either given up to the pursuit of pleasure or wasting thy time in pomps and pageants. Certainly in the testator's scroll there is nothing such assigned thee. What, then, art thou bequeathed ? Labour and solicitude. If thou art satisfied with the provisions of the apostolic testament, thou wilt look upon these as thy true inheritance rather than riches and glory. Does the Pontifical See which thou art occupying flatter thy pride ? Regard it as a watch tower. Thou art placed there for no other purpose than to exercise surveillance over the Church. For even the name of bishop (*episcopus*)* expresses rather the duty of superintendence than the power of ruling. And why shouldst not thou, who art the universal supervisor, be placed on an eminence whence thou canst oversee all the world ? Yet this superintendence has little leisure in it and incessant toil. How, then, canst thou glory in an office which never allows thee a moment's rest ? Surely repose is impossible where " solicitude for all the churches " (1 Cor. xi. 28) is constantly pressing. And what else but this has the holy Apostle Peter bequeathed

* From the Greek *ἐπισκοπος*, which signifies an overseer.
—(Translator.)

thee? "What I have," he said, "I give thee;" (Acts iii. 6). But what is that? It certainly is neither gold nor silver, because he had already said, "Silver and gold I have none" (ibid.). However, if thou shouldst happen to possess such earthly riches, use them not according to thy pleasure, but according to the necessities of the time: in this way shalt thou use them as if using them not (1 Cor. vii. 3). It is true that, so far as the soul is concerned, worldly wealth is neither good nor evil. Nevertheless, the use of it is good, and the abuse of it evil—yet not so evil as anxiety about it, nor so shameful as the pursuit of it. I grant that thou mayest claim gold and silver on some other title, but certainly not as the successor of St. Peter. For Peter could not transmit to thee what he never possessed himself. That which he had he bequeathed to thee as I have said, namely, "solicitude for all the churches." Perhaps dominion also? Listen to him. "Feed the flock of Christ which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily; neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart" (1 Peter v. 2, 3). And lest thou shouldst imagine that the Apostle expressed himself in this manner more from the love of humility than with the intention to inculcate what he considered a true obligation, attend to what the Lord Himself says in the Gospel: "The kings of the gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them are called beneficent." And immediately He adds, "But (be) you not so" (Luke xxii. 25-6). From this it is evident that dominion was interdicted to the apostles of Christ.

And wilt thou, nevertheless, have the temerity either to usurp the apostolic office whilst holding dominion, or to usurp dominion whilst holding the apostolic office? * Thou art plainly excluded from either one or the other. If thou desirest to have both together, thou shalt lose both. For thou must not consider thyself excepted from the number of those of whom God thus complains: "They have reigned, but not by Me: they have been princes and I knew it not" (Os. viii. 4). Now if thou choosest to reign without the divine sanction, thou wilt have "whereof to glory, but not before God" (Rom. iv. 2).

But now that thou knowest what is forbidden thee, hear also what is prescribed, "He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is the leader, as he that serveth" (Luke xxii. 26). Here we have the genuine apostolic charter: dominion is interdicted, ministration enjoined. And this the Legislator commended by His own example, for He

* That is to say, his pontifical office gives the Pope no right to rule as king over the faithful, or to exercise temporal jurisdiction over his spiritual subjects. It is the teaching of Suarez (*Defensio*, l. iii. c. v.) that although very extensive dominion would be incompatible with the Pope's spiritual duties, and is therefore interdicted, yet a moderate sovereignty is not only not forbidden, but is virtually necessary "for upholding the splendour and authority of the Holy See, for the expenses of administration, and for other lawful ends." Yet even this he holds to be not of divine but of human institution: the temporal power of the Papacy originated in the Donation of Pepin to Pope Stephen II., in 754. That St. Bernard had no thought of denying the Pope's sovereignty over the States of the Church is clear from his Epistle to the Roman people (see Appendix), whom he blamed for repudiating the temporal power of the Holy See, to which he refers as the "Apostolic See, singularly exalted with divine and royal prerogatives" ("Apostolicam sedem, divinis regalibusque privilegiis singulariter sublimatam").—(Translator.)

added, "Which is greater, he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth" (Luke xxii. 27). Who can now consider himself to be dishonoured by the title of servant, seeing that the Lord of Glory has adopted it before him? Rightly, therefore, does St. Paul glory in it, proudly proclaiming, "They are ministers of Christ, so am I." * And he goes on, "I speak as one less wise: I am more: in many more labours, in prisons more frequently, in stripes above measure, in deaths often" (2 Cor. xi. 23). O most honourable ministry! Than what principality does it not appear more glorious? "If it be necessary to glory" (2 Cor. xii. 1), the example of the saints is presented to thee, the glory of the apostles is proposed to thy ambition. Perhaps this glory does not appear in thine eyes to be sufficiently great? Oh, who will grant me to be "made like the saints in glory" (Eccli. xlv. 2)! Hear how the Psalmist exclaims, "But to me Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable; their principality is exceedingly strengthened" (Ps. cxxxviii. 17). Listen to the Apostle also, "But God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. vi. 14).

I should like to see thee always glorying with this kind of glory which the prophets and the apostles selected for themselves and have handed down to thee. Acknowledge as thy true inheritance the cross of Christ and a multitude of labours. Happy was he who could say, "I have laboured more abundantly than all they" (1 Cor. xv. 10)! That is glory indeed,

* The latter clause, "so am I," belongs not to this, but to the preceding verse.—(Translator.)

and a glory which has in it nothing vain, nothing effeminate, nothing slothful. If there is repulsion in the labour, there is attraction in the reward. For "every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour" (1 Cor. iii. 8). And although St. Paul has laboured more abundantly than all his brother-apostles, he has not, nevertheless, completed the work : something still remains for other hands to do. Go forth into the field of thy Lord, and consider diligently with what a wild luxuriance of thorns and thistles it is covered even to-day from the ancient malediction. Go forth, I say, into the world, because the world is the field that is committed to thy care. Go forth, then, into this field, not, however, as the owner, but as the steward, in order to supervise and look after the things whereof thou shalt one day have to render an account. Go forth, I repeat, with the two feet, as it were, of attentive solicitude and solicitous attention—for even those whom Christ commanded to "go into the whole world" (Mark xvi. 15) did not travel around all the earth with their bodily feet, but only with their mental solicitude. And do thou also lift up the eyes of thy consideration "and see the countries" whether they be not rather ready for the fire than "white for the harvest" (John iv. 35). How many a patch, which in the distance appears to be covered with corn, on closer inspection will turn out to be overgrown with briars, nay, not even with briars, but with old and decadent trees, yielding either no fruit at all, or only husks and acorns, such as swine are wont to feed on ! How long wilt thou suffer them to occupy the ground ? And when thou goest forth and perceivest them, shalt thou not feel shame that the axe is lying idle ? Shalt thou

not feel shame that the apostolic sickle has been placed in thy hands to no purpose ?

Long ago the Patriarch Isaac went forth into this field, what time he first met the beautiful Rebecca. And, as the Scripture relates, he went forth "to meditate" (Gen. xxiv. 63). So must thou also go forth, not indeed to meditate, as he, but rather to expurgate. In thy case the meditation ought to have preceded : now "it is time to do" (Ps. cxviii. 126). It is now too late for thee to begin to take thought. Before, according to the counsel of the Saviour, thou oughtest to have sat down to consider (Luke xiv. 28), thou oughtest to have estimated the work, to have measured thy powers, to have weighed thy wisdom, to have accumulated merits, to have counted the cost in virtue. Bestir thyself, then, for "the time of pruning is come" (Canticle ii. 12), if yet the time of meditating has preceded. If thy heart has been moved, move now thy tongue, yea, and let thy hand also be set in motion. Gird on thy sword, the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Glorify thy hand and thy right arm in "executing vengeance upon the nations, chastisements among the peoples ; in binding their kings with fetters, and their nobles with manacles of iron" (Ps. cxlix. 7-8). By acting thus, thou shalt honour thy ministry, and thy ministry shall honour thee ; by acting thus, thou shalt exercise no ignoble principality ; by acting thus, thou shalt expel the evil beasts from thy confines (Levit. xxvi. 6), so that thy flocks may be led forth to pasture in security. Nevertheless, thou must not lord it over the sheep, whilst protecting them from the wolves. For they have been committed to thy charge, not to be oppressed, but to be nourished.

If only thou considerest carefully who thou art, thou canst not fail to recognise that what I have been saying is no more than thy strict duty. Now "to him who knoweth to do good and doth it not, to him it is sin" (James iv. 17). And thou hast not forgotten what is written in the Gospel, "That servant who knew the will of his Lord and prepared not himself, and did not according to His will, shall be beaten with many stripes" (Luke xii. 47). In conducting thyself as I have entreated thee to do, thou shalt be following the example of the prophets and apostles. They loved better to prove their valour in war, than to enjoy their ease at home in silk and softness. Therefore, if thou wouldst be accounted a true son of the prophets and apostles, thou wilt do likewise. Make good thy claim to so noble a lineage by actions and sentiments that shall be worthy of such ancestry: for the only true nobility is that which comes from virtuous conduct and from steadfast faith. It was by such faith that the fathers "conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions" (Heb. xi. 33). Thou hast here the authentic title-deed of thy paternal inheritance; and I have unrolled it for thy inspection, so that thou mayest see the portion of substance which falleth to thee (Luke xv. 12). Therefore, be thou "clothed with strength" (Ps. xcii. 2) and a part of the inheritance is thine already. Make thyself the proprietor of steadfast faith, of devotion, of wisdom—I mean the wisdom of the saints, which is nothing else but the fear of the Lord—and thou hast entered fully into thine own: thou art now defrauded of nothing: the patrimony has come to thee whole and entire. A most precious possession is virtue. A

most valuable estate is humility, every spiritual edifice constructed on which "groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord" (Ephes. ii. 21). By this, some have even possessed the gates of their enemies (Gen. xxiv. 60). For which of the virtues is so well qualified to bring down all the pride of the demons and to vanquish the tyranny of men? But although humility is for all persons, without distinction, "a tower of strength against the face of the enemy" (Ps. lx. 4), it somehow shows to greater advantage in the great, and appears particularly noble in the noble. Be sure of it: this virtue is the most splendid jewel that can shine in the pontifical tiara. For it will render thee as much superior to thyself as thou art elevated in rank above all other men.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PONTIFF IS URGED TO RECOGNISE AND TO ACKNOWLEDGE HIS SHORTCOMINGS.

I suppose I shall be criticised for passing on to discuss my third point before I had fully developed the second. But somehow my pen seems to have hurried forward to tell thee what manner of man thou oughtest to be, leaving incomplete its account of who thou art: as if it were ashamed to have exposed thee naked on so lofty an eminence, and made haste to cover thy poverty with the garments of virtue that befit thy rank. For without this spiritual vesture, the more elevated thou art, the more repulsive shall thy deformity appear. How canst thou conceal the desolation of a city that is built upon a high mountain?

Or how canst thou hide the smoke from an extinguished candle that is set upon a tall candlestick ? As a monkey on a house-top so is a fool upon a throne.*

Listen now to my canticle, which although it may not sound so sweetly, is nevertheless very wholesome. It is a monstrous inconsistency to be the highest in rank and the lowest in character, to be first in dignity and last in virtue, to have a boastful tongue and a pair of idle hands, to abound with words and to be wanting in action, to be grave in looks and frivolous in conduct, to be supreme in power and lacking in constancy. Take the mirror now in hand and hold it before thine eyes. What I have just been describing is the reflection of an ugly face. Be glad if thine own is not found to resemble it. Nevertheless, examine thine image with care, because even though it be pleasing in some respects, in some others perhaps it ought to cause thee displeasure. I wish thee to glory in the testimony of thy conscience (2 Cor. i. 12), but I also desire that the same should humble thee. It is rare to find a man who can say with the Apostle, "I am not conscious to myself of anything" (1 Cor. iv. 4). The knowledge of the evil that is in thee shall make thee more careful of the good. Wherefore, as I have said, know thyself, not only that amidst the reverses and disappointments which shall not be wanting, thou mayest have the testimony of a good conscience for thy consolation ; but also and more especially that thou mayest understand what is yet wanting to thee

* That is to say, the faults and shortcomings which in a private person are scarcely noticed, attract the attention of all when exhibited in one of exalted station ; just as the monkey causes his deformity to be the more observed by mounting on an eminence.—(Translator.)

(Ps. xxxviii. 5). For where is the man to whom something is not always wanting? Indeed, he who considers that he is wanting in nothing proves himself thereby to be wanting in everything. What if thou art the Sovereign Pontiff? Dost thou think that, because thou art supreme in authority, thou art likewise supreme in every respect? If such be thy belief, if thou deemest thyself supreme even in this absolute sense, thou art become the lowest and the least. Who is supreme absolutely? Only he to whom nothing more can be added. Thou errest grievously if thou judgest this to be thy case. God forbid! For thou art not of the number of those who confound dignities with virtues. Thou hadst experience of virtue before ever dignities fell to thy lot. As to the philosophy which would identify the two, leave that to the Cæsars and the rest who have not feared to usurp the honours due to God: leave that, I say, to the Nabuchodonosors, to the Alexanders, to the Antiochuses, and to the Herods. For thy part, consider thyself supreme, not in an absolute sense, but relatively and in comparison with other mortals. Understand also that the comparison whereof I now speak is one not of merits but only of ministries. "Let a man so account of (thee) as of a minister of Christ" (1 Cor. iv. 1), and in truth as of the first of His ministers, for such unquestionably thou art—which, however, must not be taken as implying any pre-eminence in holiness. But for the rest, I would have thee to strive after this pre-eminence, not to fancy thou hast already attained it, or to wish to be thought perfect before thou art really so. For how canst thou advance if thou deemest thyself already perfect? Consequently be neither too slothful to ascertain nor too proud to

acknowledge how much is still wanting to thee. Rather confess with one of thy predecessors,* “Not as though I had already attained, or were already perfect” (Philipp. iii. 12); and again, “I do not count myself to have apprehended” (ibid. 13). This is the science of the saints, a very different science from that which puffeth up (1 Cor. vii. 1). “He that addeth (this) knowledge, addeth also sorrow” (Eccli. i. 18),† yet such sorrow as no wise man has ever wished to avoid. For it is a medicinal sorrow, which expels the deadly stupor of impenitence and hardness of heart. Wise therefore was he who could say, “My sorrow is continually before me” (Ps. xxvii. 18). But I must now return to the point from which I have made this digression, and see what more (if anything) remains to be said thereon.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DIGNITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Well, then, let us examine with still greater diligence who thou art, that is to say, what rôle thou fulfillest, according to the time, in the Church of God. Who art thou? Thou art the High Priest and the Sovereign Pontiff. Thou art the Prince of pastors and the Heir

* St. Paul is here called the predecessor of Eugenius, not of course with regard to the primacy, but in the apostolic office and also in the universality of his jurisdiction.—(Translator.)

† “Qui apponit scientiam apponit et dolorem.” The Vulgate has: “qui addit scientiam, addit et laborem” (“he that addeth knowledge, addeth also labour”). St. Bernard’s reading is more in accordance with the Greek: “ὁ προστιθεὶς γνῶσιν προσθήσει ἄλγος.”—(Translator.)

of the apostles. By thy primacy thou art an Abel ; by thy office of pilot (in Peter's barque), a Noe ; by thy patriarchate, an Abraham ; by thy orders, a Melchisedech ; by thy dignity, an Aaron ; by thy authority, a Moses ; by thy judicial power, a Samuel ; by thy jurisdiction, a Peter ; and by thy unction, a Christ. Thou art he to whom the keys have been delivered (Matt. xvi. 19) and the sheep entrusted (John xxi. 17). There are indeed other gate-keepers of heaven, and there are other shepherds of the flock ; but thou art in both respects more glorious than they in proportion as thou hast "inherited a more excellent name" (Heb. i. 4). They have assigned to them particular portions of the flock, his own to each ; whereas thou art given charge of all the sheep, as the one Chief Shepherd of the whole flock. Yea, not only of the sheep, but of the other pastors also art thou the sole supreme Shepherd. Wouldst thou know how I prove this ? I prove it from the words of Christ. "If thou lovest Me," He said to Peter, "feed My sheep" (John xxi. 17).* To which—I do not say of the other bishops, but even of the other apostles, was the entire flock entrusted so absolutely and so indiscriminately ? For to what sheep did the Saviour refer ? Was it to the people of this or that city ? of this or that country or kingdom ? "Feed My sheep"—these were His words. Who does not see plainly that, instead of designating some portion of the flock, they rather assign the whole ? For there can be no exception where there is no distinction. And probably all the other apostles were present when the Lord committed all the sheep to the care of Peter alone, thus commending unity to

* Quoted compendiously.—(Translator.)

all in one flock and one Shepherd (John xxi.), according to what is written, " One is My dove, My beautiful one, My perfect one " (Cant. vi. 8).^{*} For where there is unity there is perfection. The other numbers imply, not perfection, but division, and the more so according as they recede from unity. Hence it is that the rest of the apostles, who understood this mystery, received each of them the charge of a particular community. Thus, for instance, James, although he " seemed to be a pillar " (Gal. ii. 9) in the Church, was nevertheless content with Jerusalem alone, leaving the government of the universal Church to Peter. James is called the " brother of the Lord " (Gal. i. 19).[†] Very appropriately, therefore, was he appointed to that see where Christ was slain, in order that he might " raise up issue to his Brother " (Matt. xxii. 24). Now if even the Lord's brother respected Peter's prerogative, is it likely that any other of the apostles would dispute it ?

Therefore, according to thine own canons, whilst the other bishops are called to a share of the solitudes of government, thou art invested with the plenitude of power. Their authority is confined within certain limits, but thine extends itself even to them that have received power over others. Hast not thou the power to shut the kingdom of heaven even to a bishop, when necessity demands it, and to deprive him of his see,

^{*} " Una est Columba mea, formosa mea, perfecta mea." The words " formosa mea " are found neither in the Vulgate nor in the LXX.—(Translator.)

[†] St. James the Less was cousin-german to Christ, and hence according to the Hebrew custom called His brother. St. Jerome doubts as to whether the James mentioned here by St. Paul was really James the Less, or some other who is called an apostle only because he had seen the Lord. See *A Lapide* on this text.—(Translator.)

yea, and to deliver him over to Satan (1 Cor. v. 5) ? Thy prerogative, therefore, remains secure and inviolable, both by reason of the keys entrusted to thy keeping and by reason of the flock committed to thy care. But I will present thee with a further confirmation of that prerogative. On a certain occasion, when some of the disciples were out afishing in the lake, the Lord Jesus appeared to them standing on the shore. The apparition was all the more consoling for that He showed Himself with His reanimated Flesh. "Simon Peter, when he heard that it was the Lord, girt his coat about him and cast himself into the sea," and so reached his Master, the others following in the ship (John xxi.). Now what else can be the mystical signification of this except that to Peter belonged a singular pontificate, whereby he was empowered to rule not one ship, like each of the other apostles, but the entire universe ? For by the sea is meant the world, and by ships particular churches. On another occasion Peter alone walked upon the waves with his Master, thus designating himself as the one Vicar of Christ, whose office it is to govern, not any particular people, but all nations. Hence it is written, "The waters which thou sawest are peoples, and nations, and tongues" (Apoc. xvii. 15). Accordingly, although each of the other bishops has his own ship to pilot, the largest ship of all is entrusted to thee. For thy ship is the universal Church, made up of all the particular churches, and extending around the world.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PONTIFF IS FURTHER REMINDED OF WHAT HE IS
BY NATURE.

Now thou knowest *who* thou art. But remember also *what* thou art. I have not forgotten my promise to resume the discussion of this latter point when a favourable opportunity should offer. Such an opportunity presents itself here. Where could we better examine what thou wert formerly than in connection with the question who thou art now? But why do I say "what thou wert formerly," since what thou wert then that thou art now? And wherefore shouldst thou cease to consider what thou hast not ceased to be? Hence it is evident that what thou wert and what thou art still belong to the same consideration, whilst the question *who* thou art or *what thou hast become*, appertains to another. This latter, however, must not be allowed to exclude the former from thy attention. For, as I have said, thou art still what thou wert formerly, and art not less that, but perhaps more, than what thou hast become: *that* thou wert born, and it has not been superseded, but only overlaid by *this*: the one has not been discarded, but the other superinduced. Consequently, let us discuss the two together, because, as I remember to have remarked before, either can be more profitably studied in connection with the other. I have already pointed out that the question *what* art thou? is answered by giving the nature which makes thee to be a man, because thou wert born a man. But when I inquire *who* thou art? I expect to be told thy personal title, for example, that thou art a bishop.

Now thou hast become or hast been made, but wert not born a bishop. Therefore, which of these two seems to belong to thee the more essentially or to be the more properly thine : that which thou wert born, or what thou hast been made ? Can there be any doubt that thou art more a man than a bishop ? Consequently, I would recommend thee to consider most especially what thou art most essentially, I mean thy human nature, wherein thou hast been born.

But unless thou desirest to be defrauded of the profit and fruit of thy consideration, thou must consider not alone in what nature thou wert born, but also in what misery. Remove, therefore, those hereditary aprons which have been cursed by God from the beginning. Take off that garment of sewed fig-leaves (Gen. iii. 8) which hides thy shame without curing thy wounds. Put away from thee this smoke of temporal honour, this delusive sheen of vain, earthly glory, and contemplate thyself simply in thy original nakedness, because "naked camest thou out of thy mother's womb" (Job. i. 21). Thinkest thou that thou didst enter this world wearing the tiara ? or glittering with jewels ? or clothed in silk ? or adorned with plumes ? or bespangled with gold ? No. If, then, from before the face of thy consideration thou wilt with a breath, so to speak, blow away these things, as morning mists that quickly pass and disappear : thou shalt behold a man, naked and poor, and wretched and miserable ; a man grieving that he is a man, blushing for his nakedness, lamenting that he is born, complaining of his existence ; a man "born to labour" rather than to honour ; a "man born of a woman" and therefore born in sin, "living for a short time" and hence living in alarm,

“filled with many miseries” (Job xiv. 1) and so a child of fears. And manifold in truth are the miseries of man, miseries of the soul and miseries of the body. Born in sin, with a corruptible body and a barren mind—what is his inheritance but universal misery? Justly, then, is he described as “filled with many miseries,” since to the infirmity of his flesh and the fatuity of his spirit there is added the heritage of guilt and the doom of dissolution. I will now recommend to thee a wholesome combination. Whenever thou rememberest thy dignity as Sovereign Pontiff, reflect also that not only wert thou once, but that thou art still nothing better than the vilest slime of the earth. Let thy consideration imitate nature, let it rather imitate a worthier model, the Author of nature, by uniting what is highest with what is lowest. For does not nature unite in the human person an immortal soul with the slime of the earth? And has not the Author of nature in His own Person wedded the Word Divine to our common clay? Do thou, therefore, take to thyself an example as well from the primitive constitution of our nature as from the mystery of our redemption; so that, although seated on high, thou mayest not be high-minded, but humble in thy conceit of thyself, and “consenting to the humble” (Rom. xii. 16).

CHAPTER X.

ON THE THIRD POINT FOR SELF-CONSIDERATION.

But after considering how great thou art in rank and dignity, thou shouldst consider likewise and especially what kind thou art in disposition and char-

acter. This consideration will confine thee to thyself, it will not suffer thee to fly far away from thy centre, neither will it allow thee to "walk in great matters or in wonderful things above thee" (Ps. cxxx. 2). For thou oughtest to be content with thyself and thine own measure, not going beyond thy limits either in height or in depth, either in length or in breadth. If thou wouldst not lose the mean of virtue, keep thyself in the middle place. Here shalt thou find security, here is the seat of the golden mean, and the golden mean is virtue. Every habitation outside the golden mean the man of wisdom regards as an exile. Therefore he will not have his dwelling in "length" which extends beyond the mean, or in "breadth" which stretches outside it; not in "height" which rises above it, or in "depth" which lies below it. For he knows that excessive extension in length is wont to remove the mind from its base, whilst undue extension in breadth frequently causes mental disruption; that the soul which mounts too high is in danger of falling, and that that which stoops too low runs the risk of being submerged. But I must express this more clearly, lest thou shouldst suppose me to be speaking of that length and breadth and height and depth which the Apostle exhorts us "to comprehend with all the saints" (Ephes. iii. 18), and which I reserve for another chapter and another time. Here I call it length, when a man promises himself a long life; and breadth, when one allows his mind to be distracted by superfluous solitudes; and height, when one unduly presumes on himself; and depth, when one gives way to excessive discouragement. Now does not he who looks forward to a long course of life, truly withdraw

himself from his base and centre, overstepping the bounds of existence by his premature cares ? Hence it comes to pass that men, exiled from themselves, so to speak, by forgetfulness of the present, make useless excursions by their vain solitudes into other times and worlds, which perhaps shall never exist for them. In the same way, the mind that has too many things to look to, will necessarily be torn by a multitude of cares. For excessive expansion produces attenuation, and when attenuation is carried too far it ends in disruption. As to lofty presumption, what is that but the preparation for a calamitous fall ? For, as thou hast read, " Before destruction, the heart of a man is lifted up " (Prov. xviii. 12). On the other hand, what else is the immoderate dejection of pusillanimity but a kind of submersion in the abyss of despair ? But the man of fortitude will not suffer himself to be thus submerged. Neither shall the man of prudence be seduced by the uncertain hope of a long life. The temperate man, for his part, will moderate his solitudes ; he will neither allow himself what is superfluous, nor deny himself what is needful. And the just man, finally, will not be over-presumptuous, but rather will say with holy Job, " And if just, I shall not lift up my head " (Job x. 15).

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE PONTIFF IS TO EXAMINE HIS CONSCIENCE.

Thou must proceed with great caution, therefore, in this consideration of thyself, and act with the most perfect honesty, so that thou mayest neither attribute

to thyself more than is due to thee, nor spare thyself more than is right. But thou mayest attribute to thyself overmuch, not only by pretending to the good which thou hast not but also by appropriating the good which thou hast. So be careful to distinguish what thou art of thyself from what thou art by the grace of God, and let there be no guile in thy spirit (Ps. xxxi. 2). But guile there will be, unless, making a faithful division, thou renderest to God without fraud the things that are God's (Matt. xxii. 21) and to thyself what is thine. Thou art persuaded, I doubt not, that whatever thou hast of evil is thine own produce, and that all thy good is from the Lord.

But whilst considering what manner of man thou art now, it will evidently be of advantage to recall to mind what thy dispositions were formerly. Thy present state of soul ought to be compared with thy past. Thou must examine and see whether thou hast made progress in virtue, in wisdom, in understanding, in sweetness of manners, or whether (which God forbid !) there has been some falling off in any of these respects. Consider whether thou art now more patient than thou wert wont to be, or more impatient ; whether more meek or more irritable ; more humble or more arrogant ; more austere or more affable ; more placable or more unrelenting ; more timid or more magnanimous ; more reserved or more frivolous ; more presumptuous or more cautious. How extensive a field for self-examination hast thou here pointed out to thee ! I have only touched on a few items, as one offering a few seeds ; not, however, as sowing them myself, but as presenting the seed to the sower. It is necessary that thou shouldst ascertain what thy zeal is, and what

thy clemency, what thy discretion also, which is the regulator of these two other virtues ; that is to say, thou must reflect upon thy manner of condoning and upon thy manner of avenging injuries, and find out how far thou dost observe propriety in both, with regard to measure, place, and time. It is absolutely essential to take account of these three circumstances in the exercise of clemency and zeal, which without them, or any one of them, would cease to be virtues at all. For it is not their own nature that elevates such moral qualities to the dignity of virtues, but the proper use that is made of them. In themselves, as thou knowest, they are indifferent, neither good nor evil. It is for thee to make them either vices, by misusing and confounding them ; or virtues, by employing them well and orderly. When the eye of discretion happens to be clouded, they are wont to usurp each other's place and to occupy each other's territory. Now there are two causes which can cloud discretion's eye, namely, anger and inordinate affection. The latter of these enervates the arm of justice, whilst the former makes it fall with precipitation. Is it not manifest, therefore, that the one is a danger to the piety of clemency, and the other to the rectitude of zeal ? When the " eye is troubled through indignation " (Ps. vi. 8), it can gaze upon nothing with clemency ; nor can it survey anything righteously when suffused with the melting softness of womanly affection. Thou shalt not be guiltless, if either thou punishest him who ought to be spared, or if thou sparest him who deserves to be punished.

CHAPTER XII.

THAT IT IS A GREAT THING TO PRESERVE WISDOM BOTH
IN PROSPERITY AND IN ADVERSITY.

I would have thee also to consider candidly how thou bearest thyself in adversity. Shouldst thou find thyself constant in thine own tribulations, and compassionate with regard to the sorrows of others, well mayest thou rejoice. For this is a proof that thy heart is right within thee. On the contrary, it is a sign of a perverse heart, if thou findest thyself impatient perhaps in thine own troubles, and insensible to the sufferings of thy neighbour. And with regard to prosperity, is there nothing here that demands thy consideration? Yes, undoubtedly. For if thou wilt examine the matter carefully, thou shalt recognise how few there have ever been whose minds did not relax in prosperity from their usual watchfulness and self-restraint, at least in some degree. And in the case of the incautious, has not prosperity always been to virtue what fire is to wax, what the sunshine is to ice or to snow? King David was a wise man, and King Solomon a wiser: but the smiles of a too happy fortune caused the one to forget his wisdom in part and the other completely. He is a great man, no doubt, who, falling upon misfortune, does not fall away, even a little, from wisdom: but not less great is he whose head is not turned by the sunshine of prosperity. Indeed there are more to be found who have preserved their wisdom in adversity than in prosperity. In my opinion, therefore, he should get the preference, and is great amongst the great, whosoever does not allow

himself to be even so far influenced by fortune's favour as to become more frivolous in his manner, more arrogant in his speech, or more unnecessarily concerned for the body and its clothing.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PONTIFF IS EXHORTED TO SHUN IDLENESS, AND TO ABSTAIN FROM FRIVOLOUS AND USELESS WORDS.

The Wise Man prudently recommends us to "write wisdom in time of leisure" (Eccli. xxxviii. 25; juxta LXX). A time of leisure consequently is allowed thee. Nevertheless, thou must see to it that thy time of leisure is not a time of idleness. For idleness, the mother of frivolity and the step-mother of virtue, there ought to be no toleration at any time. Amongst laymen frivolous language is only frivolity: but it is blasphemy when it comes from the mouth of a priest.* However,

* Compare with the following from St. Ambrose: "I allow that jokes may be harmless and pleasing, nevertheless they are always out of place on the lips of a priest" (l. i, c. xxiii.). For evidence that St. Bernard was no enemy of innocent pleasantries, see note at page 39 of his Sermons for the Seasons—Mount Melleray Translation. The following extract from a letter written to Pope Alexander II. in 1062 by St. Peter Damian will show that St. Bernard is not beating the air in his strictures here: "Fuit, fuit olim, sed jam elapsum est tempus, ut modestiae pudor, mortificationis insigne, digna severitas et sacerdotalis genii valeat censura servari. Nam ut me solum digne coarguam, videtis ipsi, quia protinus ut ad vos venio, ecce sales, ecce facetiae, ecce lepores, urbanitates, dicacitates, volumina questionum, omnesque verborum inanum pestes insolenter erumpunt, quae nos non jam sacerdotes, sed potius oratores ac rhetores, sive, quod inhonestum est, scurras ostendunt. Mox enim, ut verba conserimus, paulatim quaedam lenocinia confabulationis alternae surrepunt, quae omnem animi rigorem indecenter emolliant, et severitatis robur in excussum risum, et turpia joca dissolvant. Hinc

thou mayest sometimes have to listen with patience to frivolous conversation when carried on in thy presence ; still thou shouldst never take part in it. It ought rather to be thy care to stem the flow of pleasantry, yet prudently and cautiously. This thou wilt best accomplish by interjecting some such serious observations as shall be heard not only with profit, but with pleasure also, and so shall easily distract attention from the lighter topics. Thy lips have been consecrated to the Gospel of Christ. Therefore it is unlawful for thee now to use them for jesting, and a sacrilege to have them thus habitually employed. "The lips of the priest," says the Prophet, "shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth" (Malachias ii. 7). Observe that it is not jests or fables but the law of God that is to be sought from the mouth of a priest. With regard to scurrility, it is not enough to banish that from thy mouth : it must also be banished from thine ear. To allow thyself to laugh at such jokes would be a scandal ; but it would be a greater scandal to repeat them for the amusement of others. Lastly, as regards defamation : I find it hard to determine which is the more damnable crime—to utter detraction, or to listen to a detractor.

est, quod mens extra se sparsa confunditur, acies cordis obtunditur, lux divini amoris extinguitur, terror in alios et reverentia sacerdotalis amittitur, et quod periculosius est, recte vivendi linea, quae aliis ad exemplum proponenda fuerat, non tenetur. Quod si nos, vel pudore vel metu, in haec declinare contemnimus, mox inhumani, rigidi, et quos Hyrcanae genuerint tigres, saxei judicamur. Reprimo calamum, nam ut turpiores attexantur ineptiae, pudore suffundor."—(Translator.)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PONTIFF IS WARNED AGAINST RESPECT OF PERSONS
IN HIS JUDGMENTS.

Now, as concerns the vice of avarice, there is no necessity to weary thee with many words, because thou art reputed to esteem money as no better than chaff. No, indeed. With respect to this matter, at all events, I have nothing to fear concerning thy judgments. But there is something which is wont to be a no less frequent and a no less dangerous stumbling-block in the path of all who administer justice. And I should be very sorry thou wert ignorant as to how thou standest with regard to it in the secret of thy conscience. Knowest thou what I speak of? It is respect of persons. Consider thyself guilty of no small offence, whenever thou dost "accept the persons of the wicked" (Ps. lxxxi. 2), instead of giving judgment according to the merits of the case. But if thy conscience has nothing to accuse thee of in connection with *another* vice, let me assure thee that in my opinion thou "sittest solitary" amongst all the judges whom I know, because thou hast truly and singularly raised thyself above thyself, as the Prophet Jeremias speaks (Lament. iii. 28). The fault to which I refer is excessive credulity, a most crafty little fox, against whose cunning wiles I have never known any of those in authority to be sufficiently on their guard. Hence the indignation which they so often exhibit without any reasonable cause; hence the frequent verdicts given against the innocent; hence also the condemnations pronounced against the absent. Let me congratulate thee, however

—for I have no fear that thou wilt suspect *me* of flattery—let me congratulate thee, I say, for that thy administration hitherto has not called forth many complaints on this head: but whether it is because there has not been much to complain of, thou knowest best.

Let thy consideration apply itself now to the things beneath thee. But perhaps it will be wiser to reserve this subject for another book, as a short discourse will better fall in with the multiplicity of thy occupations.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

THAT THE PAPACY IS MORE A STEWARDSHIP THAN A DOMINION, AND THAT THE POPE'S FIRST DUTY IS TO PROPAGATE THE FAITH.

THIS third book begins at the point where the second concluded ; for in accordance with the promise made at the close of the latter, I will now propose for thy consideration the things that are beneath thee. O Eugenius, best of priests, do not imagine there is any necessity to ask me what these are. Perhaps it would be more reasonable to inquire what they are not. For he who wishes to discover something which does not appertain to thy charge, will have to go outside the world. Thy predecessors, the holy apostles, were sent forth to conquer for Christ, not this or that particular nation, but the whole universe. "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi. 15)—such was their commission. Immediately they sold their coats and bought them swords (Luke xxii. 36), that is to say, they received and used the "ignited word" (Ps. cxviii. 140), and the "vehement spirit" (Job i. 19), which are the powerful arms of God. To what region of the earth did they not carry the standard of their King, those glorious victors, those "children of them that have been cast forth" (Ps. cxxvi. 4) ? Whither did not fly "the sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals that lay waste" (Ps. cxix. 4) ? "Yea, verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the

earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world " (Rom. x. 18 ; Ps. xviii. 5). All aglow with the fire which the Lord came to " cast on the earth " (Luke xii. 49), with their words they penetrated everywhere and set everything in flames. And although they fell at last, those noble warriors, they were never defeated, for they triumphed even in death. " Their principality is exceedingly strengthened " (Ps. cxxxviii. 17) ; they have been made " princes over all the earth " (Ps. xliv. 17). Thou hast succeeded them in their inheritance. Consequently, thou art the heir of the apostles, and thy inheritance is the whole world. But in what respect this portion has fallen to thee, or in what respect it fell to them, is a matter which calls for thy most serious consideration. For not in all respects, as I think, but only in some, has it been made thine or thy predecessors' : thou hast been charged with its administration, not endowed with it as a possession. And shouldst thou dare to usurp the possession of it as well, thou wouldst contradict Him Who hath said, " The world is Mine and the fulness thereof " (Ps. xlix. 12). Surely it is not of thee the Prophet says, " The whole earth shall be His possession " (Ps. ciii. 24) ? No, he is speaking of Christ, Who claims for Himself this domain by the right of creation, by the merit of redemption, and on the title of the Father's donation. For to whom else hath it been said at any time, " Ask of Me, and I will give thee the gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession " (Ps. ii. 8) ? Therefore, leave to the Son the dominion and possession of the earth, and take for thyself the administration thereof. This is thy portion : beware of appropriating anything more.

“What?” I can hear thee replying, “thou dost not deny that I am the Head of the Church, and nevertheless thou wilt not have me to claim the dominion thereof?” Exactly. It is enough for the Head of the Church to have the greatest share of the solitudes of government. May not an estate be administered by a steward, and the lord, during his minority, be subject to a guardian? And yet surely the steward is not proprietor of the estate, nor is the guardian lord of his lord. It is in this sense, therefore, as steward or guardian, that thou oughtest to consider thyself the Head of the Church, with the duty of watching over it, of guarding its interests, promoting its well-being and ministering to its necessities. Thou art bound to govern it for its advantage, to govern it as “a faithful and wise servant whom his Lord hath appointed over His family” (Matt. xxiv. 45). Appointed for what purpose thinkest thou? “To give them meat in season.” That is, to act as an administrator and not as a master. Let this be thy way of acting. Bein gbut a man thyself, do not desire to dominate over men, so that no iniquity may dominate over thee (Ps. xciii. 133). I remember, indeed, to have sufficiently urged this point in a previous chapter, when discussing the question as to who thou art. Nevertheless, I have returned to the subject here, because there is no poison, there is no sword I fear more for thee than this passion for dominion. Consequently, I should like to impress upon thee that, however great and exalted thou mayest consider the prerogatives of thy pontifical office, thou art under a grievous delusion, if thou thinkest thou hast inherited anything more from the great apostles than the administration of the Church. Remember

now the words of St. Paul, "To the wise and to the unwise I am a debtor" (Rom. i. 14). And if thou deemest it a duty to make them thine own, remember this also, that the unattractive name of debtor more properly designates a servant than a master. For it is to a servant we hear it said in the Gospel, "How much dost thou owe my lord?" (Luke xvi. 5). Consequently, if thou dost acknowledge thyself to be, not the lord, but the debtor of the wise and the unwise, it becomes thy bounden duty to direct all thy efforts and to devote thy most serious consideration to this object: that they who are foolish may become wise, that the wise may not become foolish, and that where wisdom has been lost it may be recovered. Now there is no kind of folly more foolish—if I may so speak—than infidelity. Therefore thou art a debtor to the infidels also, whether Jews, Greeks, or Gentiles.

From this it follows that thou art obliged to do all in thy power that unbelievers may be converted to the faith, that they may not fall away after conversion, and that they who have lapsed may return. Let them that have gone astray be brought back to the right road; let them that have been perverted be restored to truth; and let the seducers be confounded with invincible arguments, so that they may correct themselves—if that is possible: otherwise let them be deprived of all authority, and therewith of the power to lead others astray. Thy zeal must by no means refuse to occupy itself even with that class of the unwise which is the worst of all: I mean heretics and schismatics, who are perverted themselves and the perverters of others, who rend and tear like dogs, and deceive like foxes. These, I say, ought particularly to

engage thy attention, so that they may either be converted and saved, or at least prevented from propagating their errors.* With regard to the Jews, I allow that the time excuses thine inactivity: they have "appointed for them their bounds which cannot be passed" (Job xiv. 5). "The fulness of the gentiles must come in" before the blindness is taken away that hath happened in Israel (Rom. xi. 25). But concerning the gentiles, what excuse canst thou make? And what answer does thy consideration suggest when thou askest thyself such questions as these: "Why has it seemed good to my more immediate predecessors to set bounds to the Gospel, and to interrupt the preaching of the word of faith, whilst the nations were hardening in their infidelity? What shall I suppose is the reason why the word that was wont to run swiftly (Ps. cxlvii.), has now halted in its career? Who was the first to place obstacles to its salutary course? But perhaps my predecessors had reasons of which I know nothing for desisting from the work of evangelisation, or it may be they were prevented by necessity: yet what justification can I find for my own negligence? What hope can I have or what security of conscience, if I do not at least offer Christ to such as do not possess Him? Am I not 'detaining the truth of God in injustice' (Rom. i. 18)? No doubt, sooner or later, 'the fulness of the gentiles must come in' (Rom. xi. 25). But does this justify me in waiting in idleness until faith is infused into them somehow? Who ever wandered into the Church by chance? 'How

* For a full account of St. Bernard's policy with regard to heretics and infidels, see note at page 233, vol. ii., of the *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles* (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

shall they believe Him of Whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?' (Rom. x. 14.) Thus Peter was sent to Cornelius (Acts x. 20) and Philip to the Eunuch (Act viii. 26); and if I want a more recent example, Augustine was sent by the blessed Gregory to instruct the English in the doctrines of faith."

Reflect thus with thyself on these matters. I should also like to direct thy attention to the obstinacy of the Greeks, who are with us in a sense and in a sense are not with us: united with us in faith, divided from us in communion. Although even in matters of faith they have not continued to walk in the right way but "have halted from their paths" (Ps. xvii. 46).^{*} Nor would I have thee to neglect the new heresy which in secret is spreading itself in almost all directions, and in some places rages openly, devouring voraciously the little ones of Christ wherever it finds them, and without any concealment.[†] Dost thou inquire where

^{*} The Greeks maintain that the Holy Spirit proceeds, not from the Father and Son as from a single Principle—as taught by the Ecumenical Councils of Lateran IV. (1215), Lyons (1274), and Florence (1438)—but from the Father alone.—(Translator.)

[†] He means the Henricians, who denied the validity of infant baptism. Of these heretics and their doings in Provence the Saint wrote to Count Hildefonsus in 1147: "'Oh, how great evils have we heard and known' (Ps. lxxvii. 3) concerning the heretic Henry and what he has done and is still doing daily in the Church of God! He traverses the land as a ravenous wolf in sheep's clothing, but, instructed by the Lord, we know him by his fruits (Matt. vii. 15-16). The churches are deserted, the people without priests, the priests without honour, and Christians without Christ. Basilicas are no more regarded than synagogues; the sanctuary of God is profaned, His holy Sacraments treated without reverence, His solemn days robbed of their solemnity. Men are allowed to die in their sins; their souls appear before the divine tribunal without having been reconciled by penance or fortified by the

these things are being done? Thine own envoys who visit so often the countries of the south, "ask them, behold they know" (John xviii. 21), and can tell thee. They go and return through the midst of these heretical regions, or at any rate pass close to them. But what good they have accomplished there we have still to learn. Perhaps we should have heard of happy results from their labours were it not for the fact that Spanish gold is more an object with them than the people's salvation. It should be thy care to provide a speedy remedy for this pestilence also.

But there is a kind of folly which almost renders foolish the very wisdom of our faith. I speak now of ambition. How has it come to pass that this deadly poison has spread its venom throughout the whole Christian Church? For even within the true fold we all of us seek the things that are our own (Philipp. ii. 21); and hence, through mutual envy and mutual rivalry, we are excited to hatred of each other, provoked to injure each other, animated to wrangle with each other, disposed to deceive each other, urged on to slander each other, impelled to malign each other: we oppress them that are weaker than ourselves and are in turn oppressed ourselves by the stronger. How worthily and laudibly would the meditation of thy heart occupy itself with devising a remedy against this most pestilential species of folly, which, as thou per-

Holy Viaticum. The children of Christian parents are not permitted to participate in the life of Christ, for the grace of baptism is refused them, and the way to salvation closed; although the Saviour Himself has espoused their cause in the words of the Gospel, 'Suffer the little children and forbid them not to come to Me' (Matt. xix. 14).' See also Sermons on the the Canticle, LXV. and LXVI.—(Translator.)

ceivest, has invaded the very body of Christ, that is to say, the multitude of believers ! O ambition, torment of thy devotees ! How thou dost lacerate all that love thee, and still art loved of all ! Surely nothing else can torture so excruciatingly, nothing else engender such bitter cares. And nevertheless there is nothing so much in honour amongst miserable mortals as that which appertains to ambition ! Can it be denied that nowadays it is rather ambition than devotion that wears the Apostles' threshold ? Does not thy palace all the day long resound with its language ? Is it not for the advancement of its interests that the lawyers and the canonists study so hard ? Is it not for its spoils that that rapacious greed, characteristic of Italians, hungers with insatiable avidity ? What so much as ambition, yea, what else in any degree interrupts or rather precludes altogether thine own exercises of piety ? How often has not this unquiet and disquieting evil sterilised thy sacred and otherwise fruitful repose ! There is a great difference between the just appeals which the oppressed make to thy tribunal, and the cunning intrigues of ambition to obtain, through thy means, the sovereignty of the Church. It is thy duty not to refuse the former a hearing, nor in any way to yield assent to the latter. What a crime, then, would it be wert thou to encourage the ambitious and to condemn the oppressed ! Nevertheless thou art a debtor to both, owing the one class a debt of defence and deliverance and the other a debt of correction.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH APPEALS SHOULD BE MADE
TO THE HOLY SEE.

Since I have happened on the subject of appeals, perhaps I had better go into it a little further. In matters of this nature thou hast need of much pious vigilance, lest abuse should render unprofitable what has been established to meet a crying necessity. Nay, it seems to me that appeals may become the source of great and manifold mischief unless they are conducted with the utmost caution. Men appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff from every part of the world. That in itself is testimony to thy supreme and singular authority. But if thou art wise, thou shalt find thy consolation, not in thy primacy of dignity and power, but rather in its fruit. Christ said to His apostles, " Rejoice not in this, that spirits are subject to you " (Luke x. 20). Appeals, as I have said, come to thee from all sides ; and would to God they were made with as much fruit as necessity ! Would to God that whenever the oppressed cried to Rome for relief, the oppressor should feel the power of avenging justice, and that what " sets the poor man on fire " should not make the proud man more arrogant (Ps. x. 2, juxta Heb.) ! Could anything be more fitting than that the invocation of thy name should bring deliverance to the oppressed and leave no escape to the crafty ? On the other hand, what could be more perverse, more repugnant to one's sense of right and justice, than that the evildoer should have cause to rejoice at the result of the appeal, whilst he who has suffered the wrong

should have wearied himself in vain ? It would certainly be most cruel of thee not to feel compassion for a man who, in addition to the pain of the original wrong, has had to endure the labour of a long journey, to say nothing about the costs of the case ; but thou wouldst show thyself not less apathetic and cowardly, wert thou not moved to indignation against him who has been in part the cause and in part the occasion of so many misfortunes to his brother. Arouse thyself, thou man of God, whenever such things occur. Let thy compassion be stirred, and stirred too thy anger. The first is due to him who has suffered the wrong ; the second to him who has done it. Let the injured party be consoled by the repayment of his expenses, by the redress of his grievances, and by a speedy deliverance from legal chicanery. As for the other, deal with him in such a manner that he may repent of having done what he was not afraid to do, and that he may have no reason to mock at the misery of his victim.

But I think that he who makes an unnecessary appeal should suffer the same punishment as the convicted oppressor. This is the form of justice prescribed to thee, both by the immutable law of divine equity and, unless I mistake, even by the ecclesiastical law of appeals, so that an unjust resort to these shall neither injure the appellees nor profit the appellants. For why should an innocent man be subjected to annoyance and obliged without any necessity to undertake a wearisome journey ? And what could be more just than that he who designed to injure his neighbour should rather injure himself ? Therefore to appeal unnecessarily is a manifest injustice ; and to allow unnecessary appeals to go unpunished is to encourage their multiplication.

Hence we must regard as unjust every appeal to which the appellant is not constrained by the impossibility of otherwise obtaining justice. The right of appeal is granted us, not to be used as a means of oppression, but as a means of deliverance from oppression. Appeals should only be made from the sentence of an inferior judge. They are unlawful whenever they anticipate this sentence, except in the case where such anticipation is rendered necessary by manifest injustice. He therefore who makes an appeal whilst suffering no wrong, betrays an intention either to oppress his neighbour or simply to gain time. As if, forsooth, appeals had been instituted rather to serve as a subterfuge for guilt, than as a refuge for innocence.* How many have we known to make appeals under no other compulsion than the hope of being permitted to do, pending the verdict, that which can never be lawful! Yea, we have even known some to succeed, by means of such a device, in obtaining immunity during their whole lives for practices which were manifestly wicked. How is this? How has it come to pass that that institution

* "Whereas those guilty of crimes, ordinarily, in order to avoid punishment and to evade the judgment of their bishops, affect to have subjects of complaint and grievances, and under the subterfuge of an appeal, impede the process of the judge: this holy Synod, in order to prevent a remedy which was instituted for the protection of innocence from being abused to the defence of wickedness, and that this their craft and tergiversation may be met, hath ordained and decreed that: in cases relative to visitation and correction, or to competency or incompetency, as also in criminal cases, there shall be no appeal, before the definitive sentence, from the bishop or his vicar-general in spirituals, against any interlocutory sentence or other (alleged) grievance whatsoever; neither shall the bishop or his vicar be bound to defer to such appeals as being frivolous." (Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Session XIII., c. 1; Waterworth's Translation; cf. also New Code, No. 1879.)—(Translator.)

which ought to be the greatest source of terror to criminals, is thus made their shelter and defence ? How long wilt thou be indifferent, how long wilt thou be deaf to the complaints of the whole world ? How long wilt thou slumber in inactivity ? How long wilt thou delay to apply thy consideration to this confusion, to this abuse of appeals ? For they are now made without justice or right, without either order or the sanction of usage. There is no observance of propriety with regard either to place, or time, or manner, or cause, or person. Everywhere people have recourse to them lightly, and in most cases unjustly. Is it not true that formerly the calumniators of the innocent dreaded nothing so much as appeals ? But now they can even use them to make themselves more terrible to the good. Thus has the antidote been converted into a poison. Surely this is no "change of the right hand of the Most High" (Ps. lxxvi. 11).

The wicked appeal against the righteous to prevent them from doing good ; and these, terrified by the thunders of Rome, abstain from speaking in their own justification. Thus, appeals are made against bishops, lest they should dissolve illicit marriages or forbid them to be contracted ; or lest they should presume to punish in any way or attempt to check rapine, robbery, sacrilege, and other such crimes ; or to take from them the power of excluding from or depriving of ecclesiastical offices and benefices men of notoriously evil life.* What remedy hast thou for this plague ? Or how

* In a letter to Innocent II., written in 1139, the Saint says : " It is the common complaint of all faithful pastors amongst us that justice is disappearing from the Church, that the power of the keys is becoming a thing of the past, and that episcopal authority is falling into utter discredit : because none of the

shalt thou prevent that which was instituted to serve as a remedy from becoming an instrument of death ? The Lord was zealous for His Father's house, which He found converted into a den of thieves (Matt. xxi. 13) ; and canst thou, the Lord's minister, behold with indifference the defence of the oppressed employed as the " instrument of iniquity " (Rom. vi. 13) ? Seest thou not how great eagerness there is everywhere manifested to assume the character of injured innocence and to have recourse to appeals, on the part of those whose real design is to injure their neighbour, whilst they pretend to seek the redress of their own wrongs ? What mystery of iniquity have we here ? It is more thy duty to ponder it than mine to discuss it. But perhaps thou wilt ask me why those who are unjustly appealed against do not come forward to establish their innocence and to confound their malicious accusers ? I will tell thee what answer they are wont to make to this. " We do not want," they

bishops has now a free hand in avenging the injuries offered to God or the right to punish any transgression even within the limits of his own diocese. They lay the blame on thee and thy court. Thou and thy subordinates (such is their complaint) undo what they have justly done, and re-establish what they have justly dissolved. Every libertine and wrangler, whether cleric or layman, every monk expelled from his monastery, has recourse to thee, and returns in triumph, boasting of thy protection; whose avenging justice he ought rather to have experienced. Was not the sword of Phinees (Num. xxv. 8) lately unsheathed most justly and promptly to punish the incestuous union of Drago and Milis ? But only to spend its force and blunt its edge upon the shield of thy apostolic protection ! What laughter this incident excited and still excites amongst the enemies of the Church, and amongst those by the fear of whose wrath or the hope of whose favour we are led astray from the right path ! But the friends of religion are confounded, the faithful insulted, the bishops despised ; and the contempt with which their righteous judgments are received has greatly weakened thine own authority."—(Translator.)

say, "to weary ourselves to no purpose. For the judges who preside in the papal court are accustomed to favour appellants and to encourage appeals. Consequently, as we should certainly lose our case there, we prefer to yield at home and so save ourselves the expense and trouble of a useless journey." *

For myself, I cannot say that my own opinion of the papal court is altogether different. For out of all the numberless appellants who come for a hearing at the present time, canst thou point to a single one that has been obliged to repay the travelling expenses of his appellee? Now surely it is a very extraordinary thing that before thy tribunal all appellants have been found to be in the right and all appellees in the wrong! "Love justice," says the Wise Man, "you that are the judges of the earth" (Wisdom i. 1). Observe that it is not enough to *conform to the rules of justice*: thou must also *love* it. They who practise justice are just; but they who love justice are not only just, but are consumed with zeal for its interests. The lover of justice seeks after justice and pursues it (Ps. xxxiii. 15), and, moreover, wages relentless war against every kind of injustice. Have thou nothing to do with those who welcome appeals as a harvest. When an appeal comes to thy tribunal, be ashamed to adopt the sentiment expressed in the words of the pagan adage, "We have started two fat deer"—which, to put it mildly, is more remarkable for wit than for honesty. If thou hast a love for justice, thou wilt rather tolerate than welcome appeals. But if thou alone art just, of what advantage

* " 'Tis hard to lose one's case, but still
More hard to have to pay the bill."

JUVENAL, *Sat.* 8,—(Translator.)

can the justice of a single person be to the Church of God, since the opinion of all the others who are differently minded is bound to prevail? However, it will be more seasonable to enlarge upon this when we come to consider the things that are about thee.

But meanwhile do not fancy thou art only wasting time in thus considering how appeals may be brought back, if possible, to their legitimate use. And if thou askest, rather if thou valuest my opinion on this subject, I say that, as it is necessary that appeals should not fall into utter discredit, so is it equally necessary that they should not be made without cause. As to whether contempt for appeals or the abuse of them betrays the more pride and arrogance, is a question not easy to determine. However, as the wanton abuse of things seems to lead inevitably to the contempt of them, it may perhaps be said to merit the severer chastisement, as working the greater mischief. For surely it *does* work the greater mischief, since, although bad enough in itself, it is still worse in its consequences. Speaking generally, what is it but abuse that diminishes or destroys even the natural goodness of objects and institutions, frequently robbing things the most precious not alone of a part but of the whole of their value? Is there anything, for example, more useful than the sacraments? And nevertheless when abused by unworthy reception or unworthy administration they lose all their utility; * yea, instead of profit they bring damnation, because of the irreverence with which they have been treated. I acknowledge,

* That is to say, the unworthy administration of the Sacraments does not profit the unworthy *minister*, but so long as the Sacraments are validly conferred, the fruit to the recipient is unaffected by the dispositions of the minister.—(Translator.)

therefore, that the right of appeal is a great boon to mankind in general ; I even consider it not less necessary for mortals than the sun which enlightens the world. For in truth it may be regarded as a sun of justice, since by its means the works of darkness are exposed and reprov'd. Obviously, then, appeals have a claim to thy attention and protection, yet only such as necessity demands, not also those which cunning has recourse to. These latter are but so many abuses, designed rather to foster iniquity than to relieve distress. What wonder if such practices have fallen into contempt ? Many persons, indeed, unwilling to show disrespect even for appeals of this kind, have renounced their rights at home in order to avoid the labour and expense of a long and useless journey. But many others, refusing to forego their rightful claims, have been provoked to a criminal disregard, not only for unfair appeals, but also for the august personages by whom such appeals are encouraged and supported.

Let me now offer thee some examples of the abuse whereof I have been speaking. A young man and a young woman have been publicly espoused to each other. The day appointed for the marriage is come. A great number of guests have been invited, and now all is in readiness. But lo ! one who covets his neighbour's affianced suddenly interrupts with an appeal, affirming that the maiden had been first espoused to himself, and is under an obligation to marry him. The fiancé is bewildered ; there is general consternation ; the sacred minister dares not proceed further with the ceremony ; the expenses incurred in the preparation are gone for nothing ; every man descends to his own house to eat his own supper ; and the bride

that was to be is excluded from the table and the society of her intended husband pending the arrival of a verdict from Rome ! This happened in Paris, the metropolis of France and the residence of her royalty. Take a second instance. In the same city of Paris another young couple were engaged to each other and had fixed upon the day for the nuptials. But in the meantime a groundless objection was made by certain individuals, who pretended that it was not lawful for the parties to marry. The matter was referred to the ecclesiastical court of the diocese. But without awaiting the decision of this tribunal, without reason or necessity, solely with the intention of causing delay and disappointment, the plaintiffs appealed to Rome. The fiancé, however, either because he was unwilling to lose the expenses incurred in his preparations, or because he would not submit to be any longer separated from his betrothed, whatever the reason, despised or disregarded the appeal, and had the marriage celebrated on the day appointed. What shall I say of the presumptuous attempt made by a young man recently in the church of Auxerre ? The former holy bishop * having died, the clergy assembled according to custom and were proceeding to elect a successor, when this youth interposed with an appeal, and forbade them to go on with the election until he had come back from Rome ! Yet he himself refused to submit to the authority of the court to which he had appealed. For when he saw himself despised there as an unreasonable appellant, he gathered about him as many sympathisers as he

* This was the Blessed Hugh, who before he became bishop had been abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny ; he died in 1151. His successor was Alanus, also a Cistercian.—(Translator.)

could, and held an election of his own, three days after the other election had taken place.

From these and innumerable other examples which could be cited, it ought to be evident that the abuse of appeals does not result from the contempt of them, but, contrariwise, the contempt is the effect of the abuse. Consider, then, how unreasonable is that zeal of thine wherewith thou dost tirelessly pursue the former, whilst shutting thine eyes to the latter. Wouldst thou repress more thoroughly the contempt for appeals? Kill the evil germ in its evil root. And the best way to accomplish this is by visiting the abuse of appeals with severe penalties. Put a stop to the abuse, and there shall be no longer any reason for contempt, and the want of an excuse will force men to abstain from it. Consequently, let there be none to abuse appeals and there shall be none to despise them, or at most only very few.

Thou hast acted wisely in refusing a hearing to a multitude of appeals, or rather in refusing to favour so many crafty subterfuges, and in referring the questions to the judgment of those who might be presumed to have more knowledge of each particular case, or who could more readily acquire it. For where the evidence is more certain and more easily obtained, there the process will be shorter and the verdict more just. How grateful to all is this mode of acting! How many dost thou save thereby from labour and expense! Nevertheless it behoves thee to be extremely careful as to the qualifications of the men to whom thou entrustest these decisions.

I could add to what has been here said many further suggestions which I think would be of use to thee,

but mindful of my purpose, and content for the nonce with having stimulated thine own thought to studious reflection, I will now pass on to another point of my subject.

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE PRELATES OF THE CHURCH ARE APPOINTED,
NOT FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXERCISING DOMINION
OR OF AGGRANDISING THEMSELVES, BUT IN ORDER
TO PROMOTE THE SPIRITUAL INTERESTS OF THEIR
FLOCKS.

The first question for consideration that occurs to me on turning from the subject of appeals, is one which I think should not be lightly passed over. Thou hast been appointed Head, and the sole visible Head of the Church. But for what purpose? The question, I assure thee, requires consideration. Thinkest thou that it is for thine own sake, that thou mayest derive advantage from those under thee? No, surely not, but rather that *they* may derive advantage from *thee*. They have made thee their prince for their own profit, not for thine. For how couldst thou regard thyself as the superior of those upon whom thou wert dependent for benefits? Listen to the words of the Lord, "The kings of the gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them are called beneficent" (Luke xxii. 25). "There is question here," perhaps thou wilt say, "only of them that are without: these words can have no application to me." Well, in so far at any rate they concern thee: that thou canst not justly be given the title of ruler at all, unless thou

makest it thy aim to be rather the benefactor than the beneficiary of those whom thou governest. Besides, it is a sign of a mean and grovelling soul to seek profit for ourselves from those we govern, instead of seeking to benefit them. But in the case of the Sovereign Pontiff such selfishness is most particularly mean. How beautifully the Doctor of Nations teaches us this, where he says that "neither ought the children lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children" (2 Cor. xii. 14) ! It was no small glory for the same Apostle to have been able to say to his disciples, "Not that I seek the gift, but I seek the fruit that may abound to your account" (Philipp. iv. 17).

But now let us pass on from this question also, lest by dwelling upon it further I should seem to charge thee with avarice : although in the preceding book I have borne witness to thy immunity from this vice, being aware of what great sums thou hast refused to accept, and in what great necessity. Therefore what I have written on the subject is not intended for thy correction solely or principally, even though it is addressed to thee. For it is right to expect that an instruction composed for the Sovereign Pontiff shall profit others no less than him. In this place, then, I have been denouncing the vice of avarice, from which thy reputation, at all events, is clear enough : whether thy conscience is equally clear, is best known to thyself. However, to say nothing of the gifts offered by the poor which thou never consentest to touch, I have myself seen the German money-bags emptied in thy presence, not of their contents but of all appreciation. The silver was no more valued than so much chaff. And the pack-horses, unrelieved of their burdens, laden as

they had come, went sadly home to their native country. A strange phenomenon, surely. Has there ever been an instance until now of money being refused at Rome? And even in this case I have no doubt that it was not by the counsel of the Roman people that the bribe was rejected.

On a certain day two men arrived in Rome, both of them rich, and both of them labouring under serious accusations. One of them was a native of Mayence, the other came from Cologne.* The former obtained, free of cost, a favourable verdict. But to the latter—he having been proved, as I suppose, unworthy of a similar sentence—it was said, “With what raiment thou camest in, with the like thou shalt go out” (Exod. xxi. 3). O magnificent sentence, well worthy of apostolic liberty! In what respect does it come short of that of St. Peter, “Keep thy money to thyself to perish with thee” (Acts viii. 20)? Perhaps, however, it may be said that whereas the latter expresses more zeal, the former has in it more moderation. What shall I say of him who came to Rome from overseas, almost from the ends of the earth, travelling in haste by land

* The two defendants were Henry, Archbishop of Mayence, and Arnold, Archbishop of Cologne, who were cited to Rome in 1151, the charge against the former being maladministration: what Arnold was accused of on this occasion is not known. But according to the “Great Belgian Chronicle” he had been deposed from office at the Council of Rheims held in 1148, in the presence of Eugenius, on a charge of simony. In the year 1153 Henry was again in trouble on the same count, and in spite of St. Bernard’s intercession (see Letter CCCII.) deprived of his see. He died a holy death shortly afterwards in a Cistercian house in Saxony. This account is taken from Mabillon. According to Henriquez (Fascic. I. 208-9) it was not Arnold but Henry whom Eugenius condemned in 1151, and whom the same author, with many others, represents as the victim of a conspiracy, his zeal for discipline having rendered him odious to his clergy.—(Translator.)

and water in order to buy of thee with his own and other people's money, the bishopric which he had already purchased at home? * He brought with him much gold, but was obliged to take it back again—not all of it, however, for the miserable wretch fell into the hands of others who had more power to accept his bribes than to grant his petition. Thou hast done well in keeping thy hands pure from a twofold stain, in that, namely, thou hast refused to impose them on an ambitious man or to extend them for the “mammon of iniquity” (Luke xvi. 9). But not in the same manner didst thou deal with a certain indigent bishop, whom thou didst furnish with the means of making presents, lest he should be esteemed parsimonious. He received privately what he distributed publicly. Thus, at thine own expense, thou didst prevent this good man from being put to shame; and it was through thy bounty that he was able to make the customary largesses to the members of thy court and so escaped the displeasure of them that love gifts. Thou canst not conceal this act of charity: for both the bishop concerned and the circumstances of the case are all known to me. Does it embarrass thee to hear me speak of it? But the more unwilling thou art to hear of it, the more gladly

* The Saint refers here to William, a nephew of King Stephen, who had been intruded into the archiepiscopal see of York in the year 1140, and although consecrated by his uncle, the Bishop of Winchester, had been refused the pallium at Rome. Nevertheless, he continued to administer the archdiocese until 1148, when Pope Eugenius obliged him to give place to Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains (see Baronius, *Annales*, ad. an. 1140, n. 15-17; also Collier's *Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. ii. pp. 226-7). After Murdac's death in 1153 William was restored and received the pallium from Anastasius IV., but only survived a year. St. Bernard depicts his character in very dark colours in his Letters 235, 236, 238, 239, 240.—(Translator.)

do I proclaim it. For if it is expedient for thee to wish thy good works unknown, it is not less expedient for me to reveal them. I am as much bound to proclaim the glory of Christ as thou art bound not to seek thine own glory. But if this does not satisfy thee, and if thou continuest to complain, I will justify myself by an example which I find in the Gospel, where Christ, after curing the deaf mute, "charged them, that they should tell no man. But the more He charged them so much the more a great deal did they publish it, and so much the more did they wonder, saying : He hath done all things well" (Mark vii. 36-7).

CHAPTER IV.

THAT THE DEGREES OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HIERARCHY SHOULD NOT BE CONFOUNDED WITHOUT ADEQUATE CAUSE, AND THAT THE PRACTICE OF SEEKING PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS OUGHT TO BE PROSCRIBED AS AN ABUSE.

Let us come now to another question, if yet it is indeed another ; for, in some respects at any rate, it may be viewed not unreasonably as identical with the last. I will leave this, however, for thy consideration to decide. He would not seem to me to have wandered far from the truth, whosoever maintained that the vice whereof I am now going to speak ought to be regarded as one of the species of avarice. My own opinion is that if it is not a species of avarice, it at least looks remarkably like one. Now it is manifestly a part of that perfection which thou art bound

to strive after, not only to avoid whatever is evil in itself, but also whatever has any appearance of evil. By the latter precaution thou wilt consult for thy good name, as by the former thou consultest for the purity of thy conscience. Consider as unlawful for thee (although otherwise and in itself lawful) everything that is evil in outward seeming. Inquire of thy predecessors, the holy apostles, and they will tell thee, "From all appearance of evil refrain yourselves" (1 Thess. v. 22). Surely the minister of the Lord ought to imitate the Lord, as He Himself has said, "If any man minister to Me, let him follow Me" (John xii. 26). And it is written of Him, "The Lord hath reigned, He is clothed with beauty; the Lord is clothed with strength" (Ps. xcii. 1). Therefore be thou likewise strong in thy faith and beautiful in thy glory, and so shalt thou prove thyself an imitator of God. Thy strength is the trustfulness of a faithful conscience, and thy beauty is the glory of a good reputation. Thus, I entreat thee, clothe thyself with strength, "for the joy of the Lord is our strength" (2 Esd. viii. 10). And He is also delighted "with thy comeliness and thy beauty" (Ps. xlv. 5), as with His own created image. "Put on the garments of thy glory" (Is. lii. 1), clothe thyself with the double garments wherewith the valiant woman of Scripture was wont to cover her domestics (Prov. xxx. 21). Let thy conscience be free from the wavering instability characteristic of an imperfect faith, let there be no spot of evil semblance on the face of thy reputation: and thereby shalt thou be clothed with these double garments, and then "the Bridegroom shall rejoice over the bride, namely, over thy soul, and thy God shall

rejoice over thee" (Is. lxii. 5). But perhaps thou art wondering what is the drift of these observations, not yet divining the particular subject which I purpose to treat of in the present chapter. Well I will no longer hold thee in suspense. I want to speak about the cause of the murmurings and complaints of the churches. They protest that they are being mutilated and dismembered. There are now no churches at all, or very few, which do not dread or actually suffer from this affliction. To what do I allude? Listen: abbots are exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops, bishops from the jurisdiction of archbishops, archbishops from the jurisdiction of patriarchs or primates.* Has not this at least the semblance of evil? I shall be very much surprised if the thing itself can be shown to be other than evil. By acting in this arbitrary way thou provest clearly enough that thou hast the plenitude of power, but not so clearly that thou hast also the plenitude of justice. Thou dost these things because thou hast the power: but whether thou hast the right as well is a matter open to question. For thou hast been appointed Head of the Church to preserve to the various orders in the hierarchy their respective degrees of honour and dignity, not surely to confound them out of envy. Hence one of thy predecessors tells thee to "render honour to whom honour is due" (Rom. xiii. 7).

The spiritual man who "judgeth all things and is

* The dependence of the lower hierarchical orders on the higher was much greater in St. Bernard's day than it is now (see Alzog's *Church Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 251). As for regulars, all religious Orders possessing solemn vows are now exempted by the common law from episcopal jurisdiction (see New Code, Canon 615).—(Translator.)

himself judged of no man " (1 Cor. ii. 15) anticipates each of his actions with the three following considerations: he inquires, in the first place, whether it is lawful, secondly whether it is becoming, thirdly whether it is useful. True Christian philosophy certifies to us that there can be nothing really becoming save that which is lawful, nor anything really useful except what is both lawful and becoming. Granted this, it does not necessarily follow that whatever is lawful is also thereby both becoming and useful. Let us now see how this threefold criterion applies to the subject at present under discussion. And, first of all: is it not manifestly unbecoming in thee to follow thine own will as a law, and because thy decisions are unappealable to exercise thy authority arbitrarily, without any regard to reason? Art thou greater than thy Lord? But it is He Who has said, " I came down from heaven, not to do My own will, but the will of Him That sent Me " (John vi. 38). And yet it is the characteristic of a soul not less base than haughty to act not from reason but from impulse, as if devoid of reason, and to be led by its appetites rather than by judgment. Canst thou conceive of anything more brutish than this? But if it is a shame for any one possessing the light of reason to live thus like a brute beast, who can behold with indifference so great an outrage against rational nature, so heinous a crime against human dignity, perpetrated by him who is placed over all? Wert thou to degrade thyself to a level so low—which God forbid!—thou wouldst deserve to have applied particularly to thee what the Psalmist intended as a general reproach: " Man when he was in honour did not understand; he is compared to senseless

beasts and is become like to them" (Ps. xlviii. 13). Again, what can be more unworthy of thee than to be dissatisfied with the supreme and universal authority which thou holdest, unless thou canst discover some means of making, I know not how, every minutest jot and tittle of the whole committed to thee more exclusively thine own? I would also have thee to remember here the parable spoken by the Prophet Nathan concerning the man who, whereas he owned many sheep himself, yet coveted the one that belonged to his poor neighbour (2 Kings xii. 1). Recollect likewise the deed, or rather the misdeed, of King Achab, for whom the possession of a kingdom was too little so long as he lacked the vineyard of Naboth (3 Kings xxi. 2). God grant that *thou* mayest never hear addressed to thee the words spoken to him by the Lord, "Thou hast slain, moreover also thou hast taken possession" (ibid. 19).

Do not try to excuse these exemptions by telling me of their fruit. I deny that there is any fruit—except indeed that they have made bishops more arrogant and religious more lax, to say nothing of increasing their poverty. Examine carefully the resources and the conduct of the communities thus exempted from episcopal authority—they are everywhere to be found—and tell me if thou dost not find in the former extreme scantiness, in the latter serious disorder. Both these evils are the offspring of the same evil mother, a ruinous liberty. For why should not such communities, abandoned to their own guidance and to this fatal freedom, commence to sin more boldly now, for that there is no one to rebuke them? Why also should not defenceless monasteries be more daringly despoiled and plundered,

seeing that they have none to protect them ? Whither shall their inmates look for help ? Is it to the bishop whom they have aggrieved by applying for exemption ? Vain the hope ! For he will contemplate with unpitying eyes as well the evils which they suffer as those which they commit.

Now let me ask thee in the words of the Psalmist, what profit is there in the blood of these souls ? (Ps. xxix. 10). I am afraid it is only that which the Lord has spoken of by His Prophet, “ The wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand ” (Ezech. iii. 18). For if he who obtains the exemption is inflated with pride, and if he from whose authority it is obtained is provoked to indignation, shall *he* be accounted innocent who grants the exemption ? But this is understating the case : it is smothering the fire with the ashes. Let me put the matter more plainly. If he who murmurs because of the exemption is spiritually dead, how can he be said to live who has given occasion for the murmuring by soliciting the exemption ? And how is he not guilty of the death of both—and of his own death in addition—who has offered the sword by which both are slain ? Such is the sense in which I have employed the words quoted from the Prophet, “ Thou hast slain, moreover also thou hast taken possession.” Nor is this all. For they who hear of these abuses are scandalised, and excited to anger, they give vent to their feelings in detraction and blasphemy : that is to say, they are wounded in their souls, and wounded unto death. Surely, then, that is no good tree which brings forth such evil fruits of arrogance, relaxation, impoverishment, dissension, scandal, and hatred ; and, what is

most lamentable of all, deep-rooted enmity and perpetual discord between the churches. From this thou mayest understand how true are the words of the Apostle, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient" (1 Cor. x. 22). And what if that whereof I speak is not even lawful? Pardon me for saying it, but I find it hard to persuade myself that that can be lawful which is the cause of so many evils.

Dost thou imagine that it is permitted thee to mutilate and dismember the churches, to disturb the established order of things, and to confuse the lines of demarcation drawn by thy predecessors? If it is the part of justice to render every man his own, how can he be called just who deprives another of that which belongs to him? Thou errest if thou regardest thine own apostolic authority not only as the *supreme* but as the *only* authority that is of divine institution. He that holds such an opinion is not in agreement with St. Paul, who tells us that "there is no power but from God" (Rom. xiii. 1). Consequently, the words which follow, "He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God" (ibid. 2), although they safeguard thy authority in an especial manner, yet safeguard not thine alone. For in the same place we find these other words, "Let every soul be subject to higher powers" (ibid. 1). Notice how the Apostle does not say, "be subject to the higher power," as if there were only one, but, "to higher powers," in order to show that he acknowledged several. Therefore not thy authority alone has come from the Lord: there are also other divinely established powers descending from thine in orderly gradation. And just as "what God hath joined together" it is right for "no man to put

asunder" (Matt. xix. 6), in the same way, it is lawful for no man to co-ordinate what has been sub-ordinated by Him. Thou wouldst make a monster wert thou to detach one of the fingers from the hand and attach it to the head, placing it higher than the hand, and as high as the neck. But something similar will be the result if thou attemptest to arrange the members of Christ's mystical body otherwise than He has disposed them. For surely thou wilt not question that it is Christ Who in the Church "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors: for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ" (Ephes. iv. 11, 12). This is the body which St. Paul describes for thee with truly apostolic eloquence, and represents as in perfect conformity with its Head, where he says that "from Him the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in charity" (Ephes. iv. 16). Be careful not to despise this disposition of parts on the pretext that it belongs to the earth, because it is modelled upon the order of things existing in heaven. For "the Son cannot do anything of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing" (John v. 19). Especially as it has been said to Him in the person of Moses, "Look and make it (the ark) according to the pattern that was shewn Thee in the mount" (Exod. xxv. 40).

This is indeed the vision which was granted to him who said, "And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven, prepared by

God" (Apoc. xxi. 2).^{*} For it appears to me that his purpose in speaking of the Church as the new Jerusalem was to signify its resemblance in form to the holy city above. For just as in heaven the seraphim and the cherubim and all the other various choirs, down to the angels and archangels, are disposed in due order under God as their one Head; so here, in the Church on earth, under the one Sovereign Pontiff, are arranged one below the other primates or patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, simple priests, and the rest in like manner. Not to be despised, therefore, is a disposition which has God for its Author and which has its pattern in heaven. But if a bishop should say, "I refuse to be subject to an archbishop," or if an abbot should say, "I will not obey a bishop": this certainly is not in accordance with the celestial model. Has any of the angels been ever heard to say, "I will not be subject to the archangels"? Or did ever any spirit belonging to one of the lower choirs refuse to acknowledge any other superior but God? "What is this?" thou wilt perhaps say to me, "am I not allowed to dispense?" Most certainly thou art: but thou art not allowed to dissipate. I am not so ignorant as not to know that the apostles were appointed dispensers (1 Cor. iv. 1), but "unto edification and not for destruction" (2 Cor. x. 8). And "it is required among dispensers that a man be found faithful" (1 Cor. iv. 2). Dispensations are excusable when necessity demands them; they are

^{*} "Ego Joannes vidi sanctam civitatem, Jerusalem novam descendentem de coelo, a Deo paratam." This is now punctuated differently: "Ego Joannes vidi sanctam civitatem Jerusalem novam descendentem de coelo a Deo, paratam etc.," so that the sense becomes: "I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared, etc."—(Translator.)

even praiseworthy when utility suggests them—I speak of *public*, not of *private* utility. But where there is neither necessity nor utility to justify them, they are no longer faithful exercises of administrative power, but rather acts of criminal dissipation. Nevertheless, who does not know that there are many monasteries, situated in different dioceses, which, in accordance with the will of their founders, have been always immediately subject to the Apostolic See? But there is a great difference between his case who out of devotion desires to be directly dependent on the Vicar of Christ, and the case of him who wants this relation with Rome from a motive of ambition and as a means of escape from episcopal authority.* Let so much suffice on this subject.

CHAPTER V.

THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF TO
SEE THAT HIS OWN DECREES AS WELL AS THOSE
OF HIS PREDECESSORS ARE OBSERVED THROUGHOUT
THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH.

It remains for thee now to direct thy attention to the general state of the whole Church, to see if the people are submissive to the clergy, with all due humility, the clergy to the bishops, and the bishops to God; to see if good order and strict discipline are maintained in monasteries and other religious establishments; to see if evil deeds and false doctrines are

* The abbey of Citeaux was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction, shortly after its foundation, at the urgent request of St. Alberic, its second abbot.—(Translator.)

sternly repressed by ecclesiastical censures ; to see if the mystical vines are flourishing by reason of the virtues and good morals of the priests, and if the flowers are yielding fruit in the obedience of a faithful people ; to see if thine own apostolical decrees and the constitutions of thy predecessors are observed with becoming solicitude ; to see finally lest there should be anything growing wild through neglect in the field of thy Lord, or anything surreptitiously removed therefrom. Doubt not that something needing correction can still be discovered. To say nothing of the many, yea innumerable, vines which everywhere lie prostrate and uncared for, I could show thee not a few, even of those which thine own right hand hath planted, already plucked up by the roots. At the late Council of Rheims * did not thine own mouth promulgate the subjoined canons ? But who now observes them ? Who has ever observed them ? If thou believest that they are obeyed, thou art labouring under a grave delusion. If thou dost not so believe, thou hast sinned by making laws which no one was obliged to obey, or by conniving at the general disregard of thy authority. " We prescribe and ordain," these are thy words, " that neither the bishops nor the inferior clergy shall offend the eyes of the faithful (whose models and examples they are bound to be) by any superfluity, or unbecoming variety of colour, or by any affectation of worldly style in their dress, or by their manner of wearing their hair ; but rather let them condemn by their conduct the faults of the people and manifest in their lives their love of innocence, as the dignity of their profession requires. If any of the clergy, after

* Held in the year 1148.—(Translator.)

being admonished by their bishops, do not conform to these prescriptions within the space of forty days, let them be deprived of their benefices by the authority of the same bishops. But if the bishops neglect to impose this penalty, they are to abstain from all pontifical functions until they shall have done so, because the faults of inferiors are chiefly ascribable to the sloth and indifference of superiors. We judge it necessary to make this regulation also: that none but priests and deacons shall henceforth be appointed archdeacons or deans. With regard to archdeacons, deans, or provosts already appointed without the orders of priesthood or diaconate, if they refuse out of pride and disobedience to have themselves ordained, let them be deposed from their dignity. But we forbid the aforesaid dignities to be conferred on young men, or on clerics not yet in sacred orders, or on others except such as are eminent for their prudence and holiness of life."

These are thine own words: thou hast given them the sanction of thy authority. But what has been the practical result of them? Ecclesiastical dignities are still being conferred on young men and on clerics not in sacred orders. As for the first of thy canons, luxury in dress has been interdicted indeed, yet not restricted; a penalty for violation has been prescribed, but never imposed. It is now four years since the promulgation of these ordinances, and during that period not once have we been excited to sorrow by the spectacle of a cleric deprived of his benefice, or of a bishop suspended from episcopal functions. But the only real consequence of this legislation is something worthy to be wept with bitterest tears. Dost thou ask me what

that is ? It is impunity, the daughter of indifference, the mother of arrogance, the root of impudence, the nurse of transgression. Blessed art thou if with all assiduity thou endeavourest to guard against this indifference, which is the first parent of all our evils. But I think I have said enough to make thee solicitous on this point. And now lift up thine eyes and see if to-day no less than formerly the clerical state is not dishonoured by the use of particoloured garments, and by the affectation of a fashion which outrages modesty.* Those that transgress in this manner are accustomed to say when reproved "Hath God care of garments and not rather of morals ? " But this fashion of dress indicates a depravity of mind and a corruption of morals. Wherefore should clerics desire to be one thing and to appear another, offending thereby against both modesty and truth ? Judged by their dress they appear to be soldiers, but in the way they get their living they are more like churchmen, whilst their manner of life proclaims them to be neither the one nor the other. For they neither fight like soldiers, nor preach the Gospel like churchmen. Then of what profession shall we say they are members ? Desiring to belong at the same time to the military and to the clerical, they put themselves outside both and confound both. " Every one (shall rise) in his own order," says the

* Mabillon informs us that the extravagance and luxury in dress, so common amongst the churchmen of St. Bernard's day, was due to the fact that at this time many of the nobility were entering the clerical state, bringing with them the fashions to which they were accustomed and which they insisted on retaining in order to prevent their being confounded with their brother-priests of humbler stock. These fashions were sometimes so scandalously indecent that St. Peter Damian describes them, in his 122nd Sermon, as "artificial nudities."—(Translator.)

Apostle (1 Cor. xv. 23). But in what order shall these rise? Or perhaps we may suppose that as they have sinned without order they shall perish without order (Rom. ii. 12)? But if, as we cannot doubt, the infinitely wise God has assigned its proper place and rank to every one of His creatures, from the highest to the lowest, I greatly fear lest no other place shall be found for these except that where "no order but everlasting horror dwelleth" (Job x. 22). Oh, what a misfortune for the Spouse of Christ to have been entrusted to the care of such paranympths, who are not ashamed to keep for their own use and profit what was intended for her adornment! Surely they are no friends but rather the rivals of the heavenly Bridegroom.

I have now said enough concerning the things under thee, if not with respect to the matter which in truth is inexhaustible, at least for the object which I have had in view. The things which are about thee come next for discussion, and to this task I purpose to address myself in the following book.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

ON WHAT IS MEANT BY THE THINGS ABOUT THE PONTIFF.

MOST holy and loving Father, if I only knew for certain how the earlier parts of this work have been received by thee, according to that knowledge I should proceed in what remains with greater confidence or with more circumspection, or I should even break off altogether. But since the distance from here to Rome is so great as to render this impossible, do not be surprised to find me less bold and abundant as I approach the central point of my subject. Having therefore examined the first objects of consideration in the preceding books, I shall occupy myself in this with a discussion of the things which are about thee. As a matter of fact, these things also are beneath thee, yet they are closer to thee than the objects last treated of, and because of their greater vicinity may give thee greater trouble ; for inasmuch as they are placed before thine eyes, thou canst neither disregard them, nor forget them, nor pretend not to see them. They press upon thee more violently, they rush in upon thee more tumultuously, so as to make me apprehensive lest thou shouldst be sometimes overwhelmed. I have no doubt that thine own experience has taught thee sufficiently what need there is for the most careful and earnest consideration with regard to these things. For without intervals of prudent and seasonable reflection, thy

engrossment in external occupations shall be uninterrupted, there shall be no limit to thy vexation, no end to thy solicitude ; thou shalt be left neither leisure for prayer nor peace of heart ; and although thou shalt labour much, the fruit of thy labour shall be but small. I am speaking now of that " daily instance " (2 Cor. xi. 28) which thou sufferest from the city, from the court, and from thine own particular church. These, I say, are what I mean by the things about thee : the clergy and people of whom thou art bishop in a more especial manner, and with the care of whom, consequently, thou art more especially charged ; also those who are constantly at thy side, the seniors of the people and the judges of the earth ; likewise they that are of thy household and sit at thy table, thy chaplains, chamberlains, and the other officers who serve thee in thy palace. All of these approach thee more familiarly, knock more frequently at thy door, and more importunately claim thy attention. These are they who do not fear to awaken the beloved before it is her pleasure (Canticle ii. 7).

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CHARACTER AND DISPOSITION OF THE ROMAN CLERGY AND PEOPLE.

I say, then, in the first place, that the Roman clergy ought to be the most irreproachable of all, because it is to them principally that the clergy of every other church look for their models. Moreover, any abuses amongst the clergy over whom thou dost more especially preside, will redound more particularly to thy

discredit. It therefore concerns the honour of thy name to see to it that those ecclesiastics who live with thee shall be so well disciplined and so well regulated as to be worthy to serve as mirrors and models of all virtues and good behaviour. They should be found distinguished from the rest by greater devotion to their sacred functions, by greater fitness for the administration of the sacraments, by greater zeal for the instruction of the people, and by greater care and solicitude to keep themselves in all purity. But what shall I say of thy people? They are the Roman people! I cannot express what I think of them more briefly and forcibly than by giving them this title. What fact has been so well known to every age as the arrogance and pride of the Romans? They are a people who are strangers to peace and accustomed to tumult; a people ferocious and intractable even until now; a people that know not how to submit whilst resistance is possible. Behold thy cross. The care of this people has been entrusted to thee, and that charge thou mayest not neglect. Perchance thou wilt only laugh at me for speaking thus, as being fully persuaded that the Romans are absolutely incorrigible. Nevertheless, do not lose heart. What is required of thee is not the *cure* of the patient but the solicitous *care* of him. "Take care of him," said the Good Samaritan to the inn-keeper, not "cure him" or "heal him" (Luke x. 35). And one of the poets has said:—

"The patient oft is found so ill
That naught avails the doctor's skill." *

* 'Non est in medico semper relevetur ut aeger.'—Ovid,
1 *de Ponto*, elegy 10.

But it is better to propose to thee the example of one of thine own predecessors. St. Paul says of himself, " I have laboured more abundantly than all they " (1 Cor. xv. 10). Observe how he does not claim to have *succeeded* better than all the other apostles, or to have achieved *greater results*, but most scrupulously avoids such arrogant self-preference. Besides, having been taught of God Himself, he well knew that " every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour " (1 Cor. iii. 8), and not according to his harvest. And consequently he considered that it is not in our successes we ought to glory, but rather in our labours. Hence in another place also we hear him glorying in his " many more labours " (2 Cor. xi. 23). I beseech thee, therefore, to do what is thy part. As for the rest, God will be able to accomplish what appertains to Him without any need of thy care and solicitude. Plant, water, spare no pains, and thou hast discharged thy duty. It belongs not to thee but to God to give the increase whenever it pleaseth him (1 Cor. iii. 6). But if perchance it is His pleasure to withhold the increase, thou shalt be at no loss because, as the Scripture assures us, the Lord " renders to the just the wages of their labours " (Wisdom x. 17). Secure, consequently, is that labour which no want of success can deprive of its reward. However, in making these observations, I have intended nothing prejudicial to the divine power and goodness. I know how hardened is the heart of this people. Yet " God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham " (Matt. iii. 9). " Who knoweth but He will return and forgive " (Joel ii. 14), but He will convert and heal them ? But it is not for me to dictate to God what He ought to do ;

my purpose is different and heaven grant I may succeed in accomplishing it: namely, to induce thee to do that whereto thou art obliged, and in the manner in which thou art obliged.

I have now come to a delicate and difficult part of my subject. And I see plainly what will happen the moment I begin to express my sentiments. What I suggest will be denounced as a novelty, because it cannot be condemned as unjust. But that it is even a novelty I refuse to admit. For I know that it was even a common practice in former times. Now what was once a custom may indeed fall into desuetude, but it would be incorrect to speak of its revival as the introduction of a novelty. And will anyone deny that to have been a custom which, as is manifest, was for long not only practised but even practised generally? I will now explain to thee what it is I am alluding to, although I have but little hope of any good resulting. Why? Because it will not please the satraps, who are less ready to pay court to truth than to majesty. Well then, amongst thy predecessors there have been those who devoted themselves unreservedly to the care of their flocks, who gloried in the shepherd's name and functions, who thought nothing unworthy of them except what they regarded as prejudicial to the salvation of souls, who, so far from seeking the things that were their own (Philipp. ii. 21), rather sacrificed their personal interests to the good of their people. They were sparing neither of their pains nor of their means, yea, not even did they spare themselves. Hence thou hearest one of them crying out to his sheep, "I most gladly will spend and be spent myself for your souls" (2 Cor. xii. 15). And as if they designed to make

it clear that they came "not to be ministered unto but to minister" (Mark xii. 45), they "delivered the Gospel without charge" (1 Cor. ix. 18) as often as it was necessary. The only profit they sought from their subjects, the only glory, the only consolation, was this: if by any means they might of them "prepare unto the Lord a perfect people" (Luke i. 17). For this they strove by all the means in their power, with much tribulation of mind and body, "in labour and painfulness, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness" (2 Cor. xi. 27).

Where, I ask, is that custom now? It has given place to another very different in kind. Old habits and pursuits have undergone change, and would to God the change were not for the worse! I allow, however, that the care and the anxiety and the zeal and the solicitude continue just as before. They have suffered no decrease in themselves, but are directed now to other objects. I bear witness that thou and thy more recent predecessors have been as little sparing of expense as the pontiffs of bygone times. But there is a great difference as regards the purpose of the expenditures. Nowadays—and surely it is an intolerable scandal—very few look to the lawgiver's mouth, but all bend their eyes on his hands. And not without good reason. For of late it is by means of the bribes and gifts of their hand that the Sovereign Pontiffs have been accustomed to transact all their business. Canst thou point to a single person amongst the immense population of Rome who would have acknowledged thee as Pope without either a bribe or the expectation of a bribe? The Romans love to dominate and it is then especially they want to make themselves

thy masters when they profess to be thy slaves. They will promise to serve thee faithfully, in order to injure thee the more easily when they have gained thy confidence. Moreover, after this pledge of fidelity, they will imagine themselves to have a right to be admitted to the knowledge of all thy designs and to intrude themselves into all thy secrets. And whenever any one of them happens to knock at thy door, should the porter make even the slightest delay before opening—well, *I* should not care to be that porter. And now I shall recite for thee a few of their characteristics, from which thou mayest judge whether I also have some acquaintance with the manners of the people of Rome. Before all things, “they are wise to do evils, but to do good they have no knowledge” (Jer. iv. 22). They are hateful alike to heaven and to earth, because to both they offer violence, in that they treat God with impiety and the things of God with disrespect, whilst they are at war amongst themselves, jealous of their neighbours, and cruel towards strangers: they love no one and are loved of none; and since they desire to make themselves feared by all, they are under the necessity of fearing all. These are they who cannot endure to be subject, yet know not how to rule, unfaithful to superiors, insupportable to inferiors. They are as shameless in asking for themselves as they are pitiless in refusing others. Importunate beggars, they cannot rest until they obtain what they desire; but as for gratitude, no benefits can awaken this feeling in their breasts. “They have taught their tongue to speak” (Jer. ix. 5) grandiloquently, although their works are mean enough. They are most generous in making promises, and most miserly in keeping them; most

fulsome in flattery, and most venomous in slander ; the most malicious of traitors, they can nevertheless conceal their treachery under an assumption of the greatest candour. The reason why I have dwelt at such length on this subject is because I think it necessary to admonish thee more fully and particularly with respect to this part of thy entourage.*

Let me now resume the thread of my discourse. What is to be thought of the practice of purchasing for thyself the plaudits of the crowd and paying for them with the plunder of the churches ? The poor find their living sown in the streets of the wealthy.

* Gibbon, after quoting this passage, adds the comment, "The features of this dark portrait, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century" (*Decline and Fall*, vol. viii., p. 194, Milman's Ed.). But Baronius reminds us (*Annales*, ad annum 1152, n. 2) that not all the Roman people, but only the powerful faction of the Arnoldists, deserve the hard character given them here by our Saint. The Arnoldists were the followers of Arnold of Brescia, an apostate monk of keen intellect and commanding eloquence, who, as the twelfth-century Mazzini, conceived he had a mission to strip the Holy See of its temporal power and to re-establish the ancient Republic of Rome. In the pursuit of these objects he troubled the peace of the Church during six pontificates, exciting tumult wherever he appeared, particularly at Rome, whence he twice compelled Eugenius to flee. He was apprehended in 1155 and expiated his crimes at the stake. Writing in 1140 to the Bishop of Constance, who, deceived by Arnold's profession of piety and austerity, had allowed him to propagate his doctrines amongst his people, St. Bernard thus speaks of this turbulent spirit : " ' If the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would certainly watch and would not suffer his house to be broken into ' (Matt. xxiv. 42). Knowest thou that already the thief has come in the night and entered not thy house, but the Lord's, of which however thou hast been appointed keeper ? . . . I speak of Arnold of Brescia. Would to God his faith were as orthodox as his life is austere ! He is a man who neither eats nor drinks, because, like the devil, he only hungers and thirsts for blood of souls. He belongs to the number of those of whom the Apostle bears witness that 'having the appearance of godliness, they deny the power of the same' (2 Tim. iii. 5) ; and the Lord, they

Silver coins are seen to glitter in the mud. There is a rush from all directions. But it is not the more indigent that secures the prize, but rather he who has the advantage in bodily strength, or who in fleetness of foot is superior to his competitors. I cannot say that this usage, or better, this crying abuse, began with thee: but God grant that it may end with thee.

But I must go on to speak of other scandals. In the midst of these depressing scenes I behold thee, the supreme Shepherd of the flock, advancing majestically, "in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety" (Ps. xliv. 10). Tell me, what profit does the flock derive

come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves' (Matt. vii. 15). Wherever this man has sojourned until now, he has left behind such memorials of his wickedness and cruelty that he never dares to show himself in the same place again. He began by exciting tumult in his own country, for which he was denounced to Rome as a schismatic and banished, promising under oath not to return without the Pope's permission. The same offence led to his expulsion from France. Then, repudiated by Peter the Apostle, he fraternised with Peter Abelard, all of whose errors, already exposed and condemned by the Church, he has jealously and obstinately defended.

"For all this, his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still' (Is. v. 25). For even though 'a vagabond and a fugitive on the earth' (Gen. iv. 14), he tries to do amongst strangers what he can no longer do at home, and 'as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour' (1 Peter v. 8). And now, so I am informed, in thy church he worketh iniquity and devoureth thy people as bread (Ps. xiii. 4). His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, his feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and unhappiness are in his ways, and the way of peace he hath not known' (ibid. 3). For he is an enemy of the cross of Christ (Philipp. iii. 18), a sower of discord amongst brethren, an architect of schism, a disturber of peace, a destroyer of unity, whose 'words are sweeter than oil, and the same are darts.' Hence he is accustomed to ingratiate himself with the rich and powerful by the blandness of his speech and his simulation of virtue, according to what is written, 'He sitteth in ambush with the rich in private places, that he may kill the innocent.'" See Letter to the Roman people in Appendix to this volume.—(Translator.)

from such magnificent pageants? If I may venture to say it: they are better calculated to provide food for the wolves than pasture for the sheep. Thinkest thou that St. Peter loved to surround himself with this pomp and display, or St. Paul? Alas! the only object for which ecclesiastics show any zeal nowadays is the maintenance of their dignity. All their solicitude is for external honour and decorum, whilst for interior sanctity they care little, if anything at all. If, when occasion requires, thou attemptest to stoop even a little from the loftiness of thy state, and to make thyself more approachable to thy people, a storm of protest at once assails thee: "God forbid," they say, "that thou should so degrade thyself! Such conduct ill becomes thee; it does not suit the times; it does not befit thy majesty. Remember who thou art and the position thou dost occupy." As for the divine good pleasure, that is about the very last thing they care to speak of. They have no hesitation about risking their soul's eternal interests, except that they affect to call holy whatever flatters their pride, and everything is pronounced to be good which seems capable of enhancing their glory. On the contrary, all that is lowly appears contemptible to the eyes of thy courtiers, so that thou mayest more easily find a man who desires *to be* humble than one who desires *to seem* so. The fear of the Lord they look upon as simplicity, not to say foolishness. They condemn as a hypocrite whomsoever they perceive to be walking with circumspection and to be taking care of his conscience; whilst he is declared useless who loves retirement, and sets apart some of his time for prayerful repose.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PONTIFF OUGHT TO
DEAL WITH THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

What therefore art thou doing? Hast thou begun as yet to keep a watch on those men who have surrounded thee with the "snares of death" (Ps. xvii. 6)? Have patience with me for a little, I implore thee, and take not offence at my words. But indeed I should rather apologise for addressing thee with too much timidity than with excessive boldness. "For I am jealous of thee with the jealousy of God" (2 Cor. xi. 2), and would that that jealousy were as profitable as it is vehement! "I know where thou dwellest" (Apoc. ii. 13), in the midst of unbelievers and seducers. Wolves are they and not sheep. Nevertheless thou art their shepherd. It will be a useful consideration to endeavour to find out by what means thou mayest convert them, if it is possible, lest otherwise they should subvert thee. And why should we think it impossible to change them from wolves back again into sheep, seeing that they were capable of being transformed from sheep into wolves? With regard to this duty, I shall be mercilessly insistent with thee, to the end that thou mayest obtain mercy from God. Therefore, either deny that thou art the shepherd of this people, or fulfil the duties of a shepherd in their regard. Dost thou refuse to acknowledge thyself their shepherd? No, thou canst not, because otherwise thou wouldst deny thyself to be the successor of him on whose chair thou art seated. I speak of St. Peter. Now we nowhere find that Peter ever appeared in public adorned with silk and jewels, covered with cloth of gold, riding on

a white horse, surrounded by a military escort, and a throng of clamorous attendants. And nevertheless it seemed to him that even without such aids he could accomplish sufficiently well the task enjoined him in the words, "If thou lovest Me, feed My sheep" (John xxi. 17). In all that belongs to earthly magnificence thou hast succeeded not Peter, but Constantine. However, I would counsel thee to tolerate this pomp and this splendour at least for a time, yet not to desire them as if they were essential to thy state. But I exhort thee more particularly to attend to those things which I know to fall within the scope of thy duties. Even though thou art clothed in purple and gold, that is no reason why thou, who art a shepherd's heir, shouldst avoid the labours and solicitude of a shepherd; that, I say, is no reason why thou shouldst be ashamed of the Gospel. But if, so far from being ashamed of the Gospel, thou dost preach it with a willing heart, thou hast glory even amongst the great apostles. To preach the Gospel is to pasture the flock. Consequently, "do the work of an evangelist" (2 Tim. iv. 5), that is, of a Gospel preacher, and thou hast also discharged the duties of a shepherd.

"What?" thou wilt say, "dost thou tell me to pasture these who are not sheep but dragons and scorpions?" All the more reason why thou shouldst endeavour to subdue them, not indeed with the sword, but with the word of God. For wherefore shouldst thou try again to wield that sword which thou wert commanded of old to replace in its scabbard? Nevertheless, he who would deny that the sword belongs to thee, has not, as I conceive, sufficiently weighed the words of the Lord, where He said, speaking to Peter,

“Put up *thy* sword into the scabbard” (John xviii. 11). For it is here plainly implied that even the material sword is thine, to be drawn at thy bidding, although not by thy hand. Besides, unless this sword also appertained to thee in some sense, when the disciples said to Christ, “Lord, behold here are two swords” (Luke xxii. 38), He would never have answered as He did, “It is enough,” but rather, “it is too much.” We can therefore conclude that both swords, namely the spiritual and the material, belong to the Church, and that although only the former is to be wielded by her own hand, the two are to be employed in her service. It is for the priest to use the sword of the word, but to strike with the sword of steel belongs to the soldier, yet this must be by the authority and will (*ad nutum*) of the priest and by the direct command of the emperor, as I have said elsewhere.* Do thou, there-

* In a letter written to Eugenius in 1146, urging him to send help to the Christians in Palestine, the Saint says, “Now whilst Christ is enduring a second passion where He also endured His first, both swords, the material as well as the spiritual, must be unsheathed. And by whom but by thee? For the two swords are Peter’s, to be drawn whenever necessary, the one by his own hand, the other by his authority (*ad nutum*).” The Scottish jurist, Barclay, taking the phrase “*ad nutum sacerdotis*” to mean “with the priest’s assent or sanction,” employed these passages to prove that the Pope has no more to do with war than to pronounce it just or unjust. Cardinal Bellarmin, however, easily shows (*De Potest. papae in Rebus temp.*, c. xix.) that St. Bernard uses “*ad nutum*” to signify absolute authority, as it is used in Genesis xlii. 6, 2 Kings xvii. 14, 2 Mach. viii. 18, and in the *Æneid*, ix. 106; and he contends that the words “*Gladius materialis manu militis exserendus est, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis et jussum imperatoris*” can only mean that the Pope has the right to command the prince to make war when the good of religion so requires, but that it belongs to the prince to give orders to the soldier. It is in this sense that St. Bernard has been interpreted by the Popes, Gregory IX., Epist. VI., and Boniface VIII., Const. *Unam Sanctam*. For Bossuet’s interpretation, see Bouix, *De papa*, iii. s. 1.—(Translator.)

fore, take in hand at once the sword which has been given thee to strike with. Take it in hand, I say, and wound unto salvation, if not all, if not even many, at least such as thou canst.

But perchance thou wilt answer me, “ ‘ I am no better than my fathers ’ (3 Kings xix. 4). Which of them all has not this ‘ provoking house ’ (Ezech. ii. 5) — I do not say, refused to hear, but even mocked at ? ” But this is just the reason why thou oughtest to be the more insistent, if haply they may heed and become docile. Insist with them, even though they resist thee. Thinkest thou I am asking too much ? But listen to this, “ Preach the word : be instant in season, out of season ” (2 Tim. iv. 2). Not mine are these words, but the Apostle’s. Tell him, if thou darest, that he requires too much. The Prophet Isaias received the command, “ Cry, cease not ” (Is. lviii. 1). And to whom was he told to cry but to sinners and criminals ? “ Shew My people,” the Lord continued, “ their wicked doings, and the house of Jacob their sins ” (ibid.). Notice carefully that the same people are called sinners and the people of God. Apply this now to thine own people. Even though they are sinful, even though they are wicked, take care lest thou shouldst ever deserve to have addressed to thee the words, “ As long as thou didst it not to one of these least, neither didst thou do it to Me ” (Matt. xxv. 45). I freely acknowledge that this people have been until now “ of a hard face and of an obstinate heart ” (Ezech. ii. 4), but I do not see how thou canst be sure that they are entirely irreclaimable. That yet may be which has never been hitherto. If thou hast no confidence in thine own powers, remember that “ no word shall be impossible with God ”

(Luke i. 37). If their foreheads are hard, do thou harden thine against them. Nothing is so hard as that it will not yield to what is harder. Hence the Lord said to His Prophet, "Behold, I have made thy face stronger than their faces, and thy forehead harder than their foreheads" (Ezech. iii. 8). There is only one thing which can avail to excuse thee before God, and that is, if thou shalt have dealt with this people in such a manner as to be able to say, "My people, what is there that I ought to do more to thee that I have not done?" (Is. v. 4).^{*} If thou wilt act in this way, then, even should thine efforts prove fruitless, thou shalt have a sufficient excuse and mayest say to thyself, "Go forth from Hur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31), and also, "To other cities also I must preach the kingdom of God" (Luke iv. 43). And it seems to me thou shalt have no cause to regret such an exile, receiving the universe in exchange for Rome.[†]

^{*} Compare the following from the Holy Rule of St. Benedict, ch. ii. : "He (the abbot) should likewise remember that the shepherd is responsible for any want of improvement his master may observe in the flock, and that he shall escape condemnation on the day of judgment only by showing that he has done his utmost to reform his unruly sheep, and to apply the proper remedies for the cure of their diseases" (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

[†] Although it is of faith that the successors of St. Peter must be Bishop of Rome (see Suarez, *Defensio*, l. iii. c. xiii. n. 5), he is at liberty to reside where he pleases: the Popes made Avignon their residence from the year 1309 to 1378.—(Translator.)

CHAPTER IV.

ON WHAT MANNER OF MEN THE CARDINALS OUGHT TO BE.

Let us come now to those who sit at thy side and share with thee the solitudes of government. They are thy constant and trusted associates. Wherefore, if they be good, thou more than others shalt benefit by their goodness; as on the contrary, if they be evil, they shall be evil especially for thee. Thou hast no right to consider thyself well when thy sides are ailing: in other words, thou oughtest not to think thyself good whilst they are evil on whom thou dependest for counsel. But even granting that thou art good, what profit can there be from the goodness of a single individual, as I remember to have said in the preceding book also? Of what use, I ask, can the justice of thyself alone be to the Church of God, since the opinion of the unjust is sure to prevail? But even for thine own justice there can be no security when thus encompassed by wickedness, any more than one's life would be safe in the vicinity of a serpent. There is no possibility of escape from a domestic evil. On the other hand, the assistance one derives from the virtue of those with whom one lives is all the more valuable because of its constancy. But whether thy associates prove a help or a hindrance, it is thou who art chiefly responsible, for it is thou who hast chosen or admitted them. I speak not of them all, because there are some who chose thee, instead of having been chosen by thee. Nevertheless, even these have no power except what thou hast been pleased to communicate or to permit to them. Hence their case does not really differ from that of the

others. Now it is obvious that to thyself alone must be attributed whatever harm thou mayest suffer from them who, without thy consent, can do nothing. I pass over those who have been already appointed, but for the future, it will be necessary for thee, as thou mayest easily understand, to exercise the utmost caution in selecting or collecting persons "for the work of this ministry" (Ephes. iv. 12). It is thy duty to summon from all parts of the world and to associate to thyself, after the example of Moses (Numb. xi. 16), not youths, but men of mature age, such as thou knowest to be the ancients of the people, reckoning age more by virtues than by years. Is it not reasonable that they should be selected from every nation whose office it shall be to judge all nations? * No one should ever obtain this dignity by his own solicitation. In making such appointments thou oughtest to be influenced not at all by entreaty, but solely by considerations of prudence. There are some things which the

* This was made law by the Council of Basle (1431) and later by the Council of Trent, *De Reform.*, s. 24, c. 2: "And the holy Synod ordains that all and singular of the particulars which have been elsewhere decreed in this Synod touching the qualifications of those who are to be appointed bishops, the same are to be required in the creation of cardinals, whom the most holy Roman Pontiff shall select—so far as it can be done—conveniently—from all the nations of Christendom according as he shall find persons suitable."—(Waterworth's Translation.)

Mabillon, commenting on this wise suggestion of our Saint, gives three reasons why every Christian nation should be represented in the Sacred College: first, that the Holy See may be kept informed of the peculiar needs of each country, secondly, to facilitate negotiations with the rulers of the various states, thirdly, to prevent national jealousies, and to secure that, in international quarrels, the Pope shall have an opportunity of hearing the two sides, and shall not be exposed to be led astray by political partisans—a thing which has occurred not infrequently both before and since Mabillon's time.—(Translator.)

importunity of petitioners extorts from us, as it were, by force, or their manifest necessity almost gives them a right to demand. But this is only true with regard to what belongs to ourselves. For where is the use of asking me for that which I am not allowed to dispose of at pleasure? Although perhaps he who asks me for something such really desires that what he wills it may be lawful for me to will also, and not that I should culpably assent to his request. There are some who ask for their friends, and there are others that ask even for themselves. Now he in whose behalf another solicits thee, ought to be looked upon with suspicion. But the man who asks for himself is already condemned. It matters little whether a person asks directly for himself or through another. A cleric who frequents the papal court, without being a member of the same, ought to be regarded as belonging to this class of place-hunters. Form a like estimate of him whom thou discoverest to be a flatterer, who always endeavours to say the thing that will gratify the person he is speaking to, even though he should solicit nothing for himself. There is nothing to inspire fear in the face of a scorpion : it is in its tail that it carries its sting.

But if thou perceivest that the adulation of such people is beginning to make an impression on thy heart, as happens commonly enough, remember what is written, " Every man at first setteth forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse " (John ii. 10). Set the same value on the humility of him who is afraid of punishment as on his who hopes for favours. It is a habit with the cunning and deceitful to assume an air of humility whenever

they desire to obtain anything. Of such it is written, "There is one that humbleth himself wickedly, and his interior is full of deceit" (Eccles. xix. 23). Thine own experience will furnish thee with numberless clear examples illustrative of this truth. How many there are who, before they were admitted to thy court, had all the appearance of being profoundly humble, and whom, nevertheless, thou hast afterwards discovered to be disagreeable, insolent, contumacious, and insubordinate ! In the beginning they were careful to conceal their evil disposition, but later on they stood revealed in their true character. When thou meetest with a young man who is inclined to loquacity and, although void of wisdom, making pretension to eloquence, regard him as nothing better than an enemy to justice. It is with respect to such false brethren in particular that the Apostle tells thee, "Impose not hands lightly upon any man" (1 Tim. v. 22).

Having, therefore, excluded from thy court, as if they were so many plagues, these various classes of intriguers, take the utmost possible care to introduce thither only such as thou shalt not afterwards be sorry to have introduced. It does not look well in the Sovereign Pontiff to have frequently to retrace his steps, nor is it fitting that he should often be betrayed into errors of judgment. Therefore, consider diligently with thyself and with them that love thee everything that has to be done. Before acting examine the matter well, because it will be too late to find flaws when the action is done and over. Remember the words of the Wise Man, "My son, do thou nothing without counsel, and thou shalt not repent when thou hast done" (Eccles. xxxii. 24). And be assured of this : it will

be almost impossible to put men to the test once they have been admitted to the court. Consequently, so far as may be practicable, thou oughtest to select, not such as require to be proved, but rather such as have already proved themselves. We, religious superiors, receive into our monasteries all who present themselves, even the imperfect, in the hope of reforming them. But it is more easy, and certainly more usual, for the papal court to admit the good than to reform the wicked. We know from experience that it is more the custom for the just to fall away there than for the unjust to be converted. Hence it is a duty to seek for those who are so perfect already that, with regard to them, thou shalt have no occasion either to fear relaxation or to look for amendment.

Therefore it is neither he that willeth nor he that runneth (Rom. ix. 16) whom thou oughtest to select, but rather he that hesitates and he that refuses. These thou must even constrain and oblige to enter. It is on such, it seems to me, that thy spirit shall rest ; on such, namely, as are not of a hardened forehead, but modest and diffident ; who will fear nothing except to offend God, and hope for nothing except from God ; who will look not to the hands but to the necessities of those that claim their assistance ; who will manfully take the side of the persecuted, and “ reprove with equity for the meek of the earth ” (Is. xi. 4) ; whom thou shalt find to be men of irreproachable character and of true sanctity, prompt in obedience, exercised in patience, submissive to rule, rigorously just in their censures, orthodox in faith, conscientious in their administration, devoted to peace, lovers of unity and concord, righteous in their judgments, provident in

their counsels, prudent in their commands, diligent in preparing, strenuous in acting, modest in speech, confident in adversity, faithful in prosperity, sober in their zeal ; whose mercy will not degenerate into softness ; whose leisure will not be a time of sloth ; who will show hospitality without going to excess, and who will know how to restrain themselves at the banquet ; who will not be over solicitous concerning temporalities, neither covetous of their neighbour's goods nor prodigal of their own, but always and in everything circumspect ; who will not refuse to act as " ambassadors for Christ " (2 Cor. iv. 20) whenever necessity or obedience requires it, yet may be equally trusted not to undertake anything such on their own responsibility ; who will not obstinately reject what modesty may lead them to avoid ; who, when despatched on any embassy, will not seek their own profit, but will walk in the Saviour's footsteps—will not look upon their mission as an opportunity for gain, but will be more concerned for the success of that mission than for any advantage to themselves ; who will act the part of John Baptist in the presence of kings (Matt. xiv.), of Moses before tyrants (Exod. v.-xii.), of Phinees towards libertines (Numb. xxv.), of Elias towards idolators (3 Kings xviii.), of Eliseus towards the avaricious (4 Kings v.), of Peter towards liars (Acts v.), of Paul towards blasphemers (Acts xiii.), of Christ towards sacrilegious traffickers (Matt. xxi. 12) ; who, instead of condemning will instruct the people, instead of flattering will terrify the rich, instead of oppressing will relieve the poor, instead of fearing will despise the threats of princes ; who will not enter with uproar nor depart in wrath ; who will not despoil but reform

the churches ; who will not empty the purses of the faithful, but will rather study how they may strengthen their hearts and purify them from their stains ; who will be jealous of their own good name, without envying the reputation of others ; whom thou shalt find possessed of both the love and the habit of prayer, and relying upon it for success more than upon their own labour and industry ; whose coming shall bring peace, and whose going shall leave sorrow ; whose speech shall be edifying, whose life shall be a pattern of all justice, whose presence shall give gladness, and whose memory shall be in benediction ; who will make themselves amiable, not so much by words as by deeds, and excite men's wonder more by great actions than by magnificent displays ; who will be humble with the humble, and innocent with the innocent (Ps. xvii. 26), yet will sternly reprove the obdurate, will curb the malignant, and will " render a reward to the proud " (Ps. xciii. 2) ; who will not make haste to enrich themselves and their dependents from the dowry of the widow * and the patrimony of the Crucified, but will freely give what they have freely received (Matt. x. 8), will freely " execute judgment for them that suffer wrong " (Ps. cxlv. 7), " vengeance upon the nations, chastisement among the people " (Ps. cxlix. 7), who shall seem to have received of thy spirit, as the seventy ancients received of the spirit of Moses (Numb. xi. 17), by which, whether absent or present, they will labour to please God (2 Cor. v. 9) and thee ; who will always come back from their legatine missions, weary

* These words also, as Mabillon takes notice, are echoed by the Council of Trent in its Decree on Reformation, ch. i. Session XXV. The widow is, of course, the Church.—(Translator.)

indeed with labour, but not burdened with spoil; glorying not in that they have brought home with them whatever they found most curious and precious in the countries they visited, but because they have given peace to nations, laws to barbarians, tranquillity to monasteries, order to the churches, discipline to the clergy, and to God an acceptable people, zealous in the practice of good works.

CHAPTER V.

EXAMPLES OF DISINTERESTEDNESS IN PAPAL LEGATES.

I think it right to mention here the example of our dear Cardinal Martin * of happy memory. No doubt thou hast heard before what I am about to relate, but it may be thou dost not remember. Well, this cardinal priest having been sent as papal legate into Dacia, returned so poor that, for want of money and horses, he was scarcely able to come as far as Florence. The bishop of that city made him a present of a horse, which brought him forward to Pisa, where I happened to be staying at the time. On the following day, as I think, the bishop of Florence also arrived. He had a suit with an adversary, and as the day appointed for the hearing was drawing nigh, he began to canvass for the votes of his friends. Going around to solicit each separately, he came at length to Cardinal Martin. He had great hopes of being successful with him, who, as he thought, could not have forgotten so soon the

* Created cardinal by Innocent II. in 1130; nothing further known of him.—(Translator)

kindness he had shown him at Florence. But the answer he got from Martin was this : " Thou hast deceived me. I had no knowledge that this trial was impending. Thy horse is in the stable : take him and go." And straightway the animal was restored to the bishop. What sayest thou to this, Holy Father ? Does it not resemble a tale of bygone times to hear that a legate of the Holy See returned without gold from a land of gold ? that he accumulated no treasures of silver whilst passing through countries where silver abounds ? * Moreover, that he even returned a present received as

* Not without cause does the Saint speak thus bitterly, as will appear evident from the subjoined letter which he wrote to Cardinal Hugo, Bishop of Ostia, in 1152, complaining of the misconduct of the legate, Cardinal Jordan de Ursinis :—

" Thy legate has 'passed from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people' (Ps. civ. 13), leaving amongst us wherever he came scandals and disorders as memorials of his visit. From the foot of the Alps and the kingdom of the Teutons, this apostolic man has travelled about in all directions, passing through nearly all the dioceses of France and Normandy as far as Rouen, and filling every place not with the Gospel but with sacrilege. He is reported to have committed shameful crimes everywhere, to have carried off the spoils of the churches, to have advanced good-looking boys to ecclesiastical honours wherever he could, and to have endeavoured to do so where he could not. Some churches saved themselves from his visitation by sending him a bribe. And if there were any which he was unable to reach, from them he extorted money by means of his messengers. In the schools, in the law-courts, in the streets he has made himself a by-word. Both religious and seculars speak ill of him. Monks and clerics, and the poor—all complain of him. But they who show the greatest disgust for his life and reputation are the men of his own profession. Such is the testimony he has both from those who are within and from those who are without (1 Tim. iii. 7). Not so acted my lord Cardinal John Paparo, whose praise is in the Church, because he has everywhere honoured his ministry (2 Cor. viii. 18). Read this letter to his Holiness. Let him see what is to be done with this man : as for me, I have now delivered my soul. And let me tell him with my usual boldness that, if he wishes to salve his conscience, he ought to reform his court. I had resolved not to speak of these abuses at all, but the venerable prior of Montis Dei has persuaded me to write. Be

soon as he saw that it exposed him to the suspicion of accepting bribes ?

It is a great pleasure to me to find this opportunity of referring to and mentioning by name another man of most delicious memory, I mean Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres,* who for several years, at his own expense, strenuously discharged the functions of apostolic legate in the province of Aquitaine. I was myself a witness to the fact I am going to relate. We were together once in those parts when a certain priest offered him a fish of the kind commonly called sturgeons. The legate immediately inquired how much it was worth, adding, " I refuse to take this fish unless on condition that thou wilt accept the price of it." And he handed five gold pieces (*solidos*) to the mortified and disappointed priest. I had also the privilege to be in his company on another occasion, when, in a certain village, the lady of the place, as a token of respect, presented him with a finger-towel and two or three basins of beautiful workmanship, although the material was only wood. The man of delicate conscience surveyed the articles for some time, expressed his admiration of their artistic excellence, but refused to accept them. When, I ask, would he have been willing to receive vases of silver, who scrupled to take presents like these ? No man, assuredly, was able to say to this legate, " I have enriched Abram " (*Gen. xiv. 23*). But he, like Samuel, could have said to all with sure, however, that what thou readest here is less than what is openly spoken of."

The Cardinal Paparo mentioned in this letter is the same who brought the pallium to the Irish archbishops in 1151.—(Translator.)

* Several of the Saint's letters are addressed to this worthy bishop.—(Translator.)

confidence " Speak of me before the Lord and before His anointed, whether I have taken any man's ox or ass, if I have wronged any man, if I have oppressed any man, if I have taken a bribe at any man's hand ; and I will despise it this day and will restore it to you " (1 Kings xii. 3). Oh, if we only had many such prelates in the Church as the two I have now spoken of ! How blessed wouldst thou be, and how happy thy pontificate ! Would thy bliss not seem to thee but a little short of heavenly, when, whithersoever it pleased thee to go, thou shouldst find thyself surrounded by a throng of such illustrious and holy men ?

Unless I am greatly mistaken, thou wilt pause at this, and heaving a deep sigh, wilt say to thyself, " Is it possible that what is written here shall ever come to pass ? Is there any hope that I shall survive to see these things accomplished ? Oh, who will grant me to live until the advent of that golden age ! Oh, if only I could see in my own lifetime the Church of God propped up by such magnificent columns ! Oh, if I might but behold the Spouse of my Lord entrusted to defenders so faithful, committed to guardians so pure ! What happiness could be greater, what security more perfect than mine, did I but see around me such men who would be at the same time the custodians and the witnesses of my life ; to whom I might safely reveal all my secrets and communicate all my designs ; to whom, as to so many other selves, I could unreservedly open my mind ; who would not suffer me to deviate from the straight path of justice, even though I wished, restraining my precipitancy, and spurring on my sluggishness ; who with equal respect and liberty would repress my pride and correct my short-

comings ; whose constancy and firmness would fix my irresolution and fortify my confidence ; whose faith and sanctity would stimulate me to everything holy, to everything chaste, to everything honourable, to everything desirable and of good repute." And now, Holy Father, contrast with this ideal the present state of the Church and of the court of Rome, and also the dispositions and pursuits of the prelates, particularly of those that belong to thine entourage.

Let so much suffice on this subject. I have merely touched the surface. It is for thee, as being the son of a prophet, to " dig in the wall and to see " (Ezech. viii. 8). It would be wrong for me to go into any further details. However, I may be permitted to call attention to one very obvious abuse. Is it not ridiculous presumption on the part of thy attendant deacons to attempt to take precedence of thy brother-priests ? For such a pretension they can obtain no support from reason, tradition, or authority. But if they seek to justify it by their own practice, it will be much better to put a stop to that practice than to expose to dishonour the most noble order of the priesthood. Yet the principal reason on which they ground their claim is something very frivolous. " We are the persons," they say, " who in all solemn functions stand nearest to our lord the Pope ; we sit next his throne, and in processions immediately precede him." But there is nothing in this that can be called a privilege of your dignity, rather than a duty of attendance, for you only discharge the functions which belong to the name of deacon * by such solemn ministrations. And when, in a regular assembly, the priests sit around

* From *διάκονος*, which means a servant.—(Translator.)

the Sovereign Pontiff, are not you placed at his feet ? Therefore the reason why he keeps you so near his person is not to show you honour, but because he requires your prompt ministrations. We read in the Gospel that "there was also a strife amongst them (the disciples) which of them should seem to be greater" (Luke xxii. 24). What happiness would be thine if with regard to other and more laudable things there was the same competition for pre-eminence amongst those that surround thee !

CHAPTER VI.

THAT THE PONTIFF SHOULD CHARGE HIMSELF PERSONALLY WITH THE DISCIPLINE OF HIS HOUSEHOLD, BUT SHOULD LEAVE ALL OTHER DOMESTIC AFFAIRS TO THE MANAGEMENT OF HIS MAJOR-DOMO.

We are now tired of the court. Let us therefore go out into the palace : they are awaiting us at home. There we shall find those who belong rather to thine interior than to thine entourage, if I may so speak. Do not regard it as superfluous to consider how thou oughtest to regulate thy household and to provide for them who live under thy roof and belong to thy family. In my judgment, this is an indispensable consideration. Listen to St. Paul, "If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?" (1 Tim. iii. 5). Also, "If any man have not care of his own, and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel" (1 Tim. v. 8). But in speaking thus I must not be understood as recommending thee, who shouldst

be occupied with the highest affairs, to give personal attention to the lowest as well, so that it would be necessary for thee to divide thyself, and to expend on the least things the solicitude which belongs to the greatest. Why shouldst thou again entangle thyself in cares from which the Lord hath delivered thee? "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice," says Christ, "and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. vi. 33). Nevertheless, He also declares, "These things you ought to have done, and not leave those undone" (Matt. xxiii. 23). But thou must attend personally to the more important matters; as for the rest, it is also a personal obligation for thee to appoint subordinates who shall faithfully administer them in thy name. For if one and the same domestic is not capable of the double duty of serving his master's tables and looking after his horses, how canst thou expect to be able to govern at the same time thine own house and the house of the Lord, whereof it is written, "O Israel, how great is the house of God!" (Bar. iii. 24)? The mind that is occupied with such a multitude of important matters ought surely to be immune from all solicitude concerning smaller and meaner things; it ought to be free, so that no worldly interest can exercise dominion over it; it ought to be pure, so that no unworthy attachment can draw it down to earth; it ought to be righteous, so that no evil intention can deflect it from the straight way of truth and justice; it ought to be circumspect, so that no vain suspicion can enter it unperceived; it ought to be watchful, so that no idle and wandering thought can steal it away from itself; it ought to be firm, so that no sudden excitement or

commotion can rob it of its peace ; it ought to be invincible, so that no tribulation, no matter how continuous, can weary it out ; finally, it ought to be so broad that no temporal loss can straiten or contract it.

Rest assured that thou shalt be deprived of all these spiritual goods and be afflicted with all the contrary spiritual evils, if, dividing thy attention, thou endeavourest to devote half of it to the things of God and the other half to thine own paltry concerns (*reculis tuis*). Wherefore, thou must find some one to whom thy household affairs may be entrusted and who shall grind the corn for thee. I say "for thee," and not, "with thee." There are some things which thou must do by thyself alone ; there are other things in which thou must co-operate with thy subordinates ; and there are other things again which must be left entirely to these latter. "Who is wise and will (understand) these things ?" (Ps. cvi. 43). There is here need of thy most diligent consideration. It appears to me that thy domestic affairs belong most properly to the third of the above-mentioned categories. That is to say, they should be committed entirely to the care of another. But if thy steward is not faithful, he will defraud thee, and he will be defrauded himself unless he is prudent. Consequently, thou must seek out a "faithful and wise steward" whom thou mayest set over thy family (Luke xii. 42). But there is one thing more necessary to him, without which he will be useless. Shall I tell thee what this is ? It is authority. For what avails it that he knows how to regulate everything in the best possible manner and has the good will to act according to his knowledge, if he lacks the authority

to do what he knows should be done and desires to do? Therefore he ought to be allowed to act as he pleases. If it seems to thee unreasonable to allow a subordinate such liberty of action, remember that he is supposed to be faithful, and consequently willing to do what is right; remember also that he is supposed to be prudent, and therefore likely to know what is right. But his fidelity and prudence can profit little unless he has full power to carry out his plans without impediment, and to exact prompt obedience from those of thy household. Hence all must be subject to him; and there must be none to oppose his will or to say to him, "Why hast thou done so?" Let him have authority to exclude and to admit whomsoever he pleases, to change thy domestics, and to transfer offices from one to another when, and according as it shall seem good to him. Let him be feared and respected by all so that he may be helpful to all. Let him be over all that he may benefit all and in all things. Do not listen to any secret accusations or private complaints against him; rather treat them as slanders. And I would recommend thee, as a general rule, to look with suspicion upon every accuser who fears to say openly what he whispers in thine ear. But if he still refuses to make a public denunciation when thou judgest it necessary that he should do so, then let him be dealt with as an informer, not as an accuser.

Accordingly, let there be one in thy household who shall appoint their duties to all the rest and to whom all the rest shall be responsible. He must be a man to whom thou canst with perfect confidence commit the charge of thy domestic affairs, so that thou mayest

be free to attend to thyself and to the Church of God. But if it so happens that thou art not able to find one who is both faithful and prudent, entrust the office to him who is faithful without being prudent rather than to him who is prudent without being faithful. This I judge to be the wiser course. Nevertheless, should it be impossible to discover a steward whose fidelity is beyond suspicion, I counsel thee to be satisfied even with one less faithful rather than to entangle thyself in such endless solitudes. Remember that Judas was Christ's procurator. Can there be anything less worthy of a bishop than to occupy himself with matters of domestic economy, looking after his furniture and the administration of his miserable revenue, examining minutely into everything, inquiring about everything, tormented with suspicions, disturbed at every instance of loss or neglect? I speak to the shame of certain prelates who have the habit of making a daily scrutiny of all their possessions, passing over nothing, and demanding an account of expenditures, down to the last farthing. Very different from such narrowness was the conduct of that Egyptian who, having delivered all things to Joseph, "knew not what he had in his own house" (Gen. xxxix. 8). What a shame for a Christian not to have so much confidence in a fellow-Christian as to entrust him with the administration of his property, whereas this infidel had such faith in one who was only a servant and a stranger that he set him over all his goods!

A strange thing! Bishops nowadays can find more persons than they need qualified to undertake for them the care of souls; but none is to be found to whom, as they think, the care of their temporalities can be safely

entrusted. Most extraordinary valutors these, who manifest much solicitude for the least things and little or none for the greatest ! Thus it is plain to be seen that we are much more concerned at our own losses than at the losses of Christ. We keep ourselves exactly informed of our daily expenses, but of the reverses which the Church of God is constantly sustaining we are content to know nothing. Every day domestics are required to render an account of the price of provisions and of the number of loaves purchased and consumed. But it is very seldom we hear of a bishop consulting with his clergy about the sins of the people. An ass falls down beneath its burden and someone is always at hand to raise it up ; an immortal soul perishes and nobody minds. Nor is this any matter for wonder, seeing that we are so insensible to the spiritual losses which we are ourselves continually suffering. Do we not feel angry, impatient, and troubled as often as we take an account of our expenditures ? But surely the loss of grace ought to grieve us far more than the loss of our temporal possessions. " Why do you not rather take wrong ? " asks the Apostle, " why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded ? " (1 Cor. vi. 7). Therefore, I pray thee, do thou, that teachest others, teach also thyself (Rom. ii. 21), if thou hast not yet done so, to value thyself more than thy goods. All those transitory things, which cannot possibly remain with thee for ever, must be made to pass *from* thee, not allowed to pass *through* thee. For as surely as running water channels the earth through which it passes, so surely do the distractions of temporal cares corrode the conscience. If a torrent can inundate a field without injuring the seeds planted there, thou

mayest also expect to be able to occupy thyself with worldly concerns without injury to thy soul. Therefore I most earnestly exhort thee to close thy mind against such a flood of vain solitudes. Be content to be ignorant of many things, to overlook many more, and to forget not a few.

But there are certain matters concerning which I would have thee to keep thyself well informed, I mean the character and conduct of each member of thy household. Thou shouldst not be the last to know the faults of thy domestics, which, as I have reason to believe, is commonly enough the case with bishops. Wherefore, appoint another, as I have said, to administer thy temporalities ; but charge thyself personally with the discipline of thy house : this is a responsibility which ought not to be entrusted to any subordinate. Should any one offend in thy presence by disrespectful language or deportment, punish him immediately and avenge the insult to thine honour. For impunity encourages presumption, and presumption leads to every excess. "Holiness becometh thy house" (Ps. xcii. 5), as also the house of every other bishop ; and not holiness alone, but modesty as well, and decency ; of all of which discipline is the guardian. The priests of thy household must either be a model or a by-word and a scandal to all. Never suffer anything improper, anything unbecoming, to appear in the countenance, in the conduct, or in the carriage of those with whom thou livest. Let thy brother-bishops learn from thy example not to keep in their palaces long-haired boys or foppish young men : curly-headed coxcombs look particularly out of place in the midst of mitred prelates. And remember also the Wise Man's

admonition, "Hast thou daughters? Shew not thy countenance gay towards them" (Eccli. vii. 25).

Nevertheless, I would not have thee to be austere in thy manner, but only grave. Austerity is wont to repel the timid, whereas the effect of gravity is to sober the frivolous. The presence of the former disposition would render thee odious, the absence of the latter would make thee contemptible. Herein as in all things else thou wilt do best to observe moderation. Therefore avoid over-severity as much as excessive lightness. What can be more pleasing than such manners as are equally removed from the stiffness which freezes and from the familiarity which breeds contempt? Be the Pope in the palace, but at home show thyself more as a father. Make thyself loved, if possible, by thy domestics; otherwise let them fear thee. It is always good to keep a guard over thy lips, yet not so as to exclude the grace of affability. Consequently, I counsel thee to bridle the imprudence of thy tongue at all times, but most especially at table. But if thou wouldst regulate thy exterior in the best possible manner, let thy conduct be always grave, thy looks benign, and thy conversation serious. Thy chaplains and the other clerics who are accustomed to assist thee in all sacred functions ought not to be left without honour; and it is thy duty to select such as shall be worthy of honour. They should be served by all thy domestics as respectfully as thou art thyself. All that is necessary to them they should receive from thy hand. They are to be content with what thou dost provide for them, whilst it is thy part to see that they shall want for nothing. But if thou shouldst ever find any one of them unsatisfied with such provision, and

seeking perquisites from strangers, punish him as Eliseus punished Giezi (4 Kings v. 20-27). And thou shouldst treat thy ushers and all thy other officials in exactly the same way. But these counsels are superfluous, for I recollect that thou hast long ago adopted as the rule of thy conduct what I have just been recommending. What could be more worthy of thy pontificate, what more wholesome for thy conscience, what more honourable for thy fame or more useful as an example? Admirable rule, which not only preserves thy conscience from the guilt of avarice, but also defends thy reputation against the suspicion thereof.

CHAPTER VII.

A SUMMARY OF THE VIRTUES REQUIRED IN THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF.

It is now time to bring this fourth book to an end. However, I should like before concluding to repeat by way of epilogue something of what has been said, and to add something more which has been omitted. Remember above all things that the holy Roman Church, of which God has made thee ruler, is the *mother*, not the *mistress* of the other churches; and that thou art not the lord and master of the bishops, but one of their number,* the brother of those that love God, and "a partaker with all them that fear Him" (Ps. cxviii. 63). For the rest, consider thyself obliged to be the model of justice, the mirror of sanctity, the pattern of

* The Pope's primacy is a primacy not of orders but of jurisdiction. With regard to the power of orders, all bishops are equal, all possessing equally the plenitude of the priesthood.—(Translator.)

piety, the oracle of truth, the defender of the faith, the doctor of nations, the guide of Christians, the friend of the Bridegroom, the paranymp of the Bride, the regulator of the clergy, the pastor of the people, the instructor of the unwise, the refuge of the oppressed, the advocate of the poor, the hope of the miserable, the guardian of orphans, the protector of widows, the eye of the blind, the tongue of the speechless, the support of the aged, the avenger of crime, the terror of evildoers, the glory of the good, the rod of the powerful, the hammer of tyrants, the father of kings, the moderator of laws, the administrator of canons, the salt of the earth, the light of the world, the priest of the Most High, the vicar of Christ, the anointed of the Lord, and finally the God of Pharaoh. Understand aright what I say. The Lord will give thee understanding. Whenever, therefore, power is united to malice it is thy duty to oppose it with a superhuman daring and a divine authority. Let thy "countenance be against them that do evil things" (Ps. xxxiii. 17). Let him who fears not man nor dreads the sword be afraid of the spirit of thine anger. Let him fear the power of thy prayers who has only contempt for thy warnings. Let him who provokes thy indignation be made sensible that he has incurred the anger, not of man, but of God. And let him who refuses to listen to thy remonstrances be afraid lest the Lord should listen to thy complaints.

It only remains now to discuss the last part of my subject, namely, the things that are above thee. This I hope to do in the following book, with the help of God, and at the same time to acquit myself of my promise.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

THAT CONSIDERATION IS IN EXILE AMONGST MATERIAL THINGS.

ALTHOUGH the four preceding books are included with the present under the title "On Consideration," they are to a great extent concerned with action, because with regard to many particulars they are intended to teach and admonish thee not only of what thou shouldst consider, but likewise of what thou oughtest to do. This fifth book, which I am now beginning, shall treat of consideration alone. For the things that are above thee—which is the part of my subject remaining to be discussed—have no need of thy action, but only invite thy contemplation. There is nothing for thy activity to effect in those objects which abide always in the same state and shall so abide for ever, and some of which have existed from everlasting. Therefore, my most wise and holy Father, I would have thee to understand clearly that as often as thy consideration descends from such high and heavenly things to those that are earthly and visible, whether to study them as sources of knowledge, or to desire them as useful, or to compose and regulate them as thy duty demands: so often does it enter into a land of exile. However, if it occupies itself with material realities in such a way as to make them the means of attaining to the spiritual, its exile

will not be very remote. Indeed I may say that by this mode of application to sensible objects it begins to return to its native sphere. For this is the most sublime and worthy use to which earthly creatures can be put, when, as St. Paul of his wisdom tells us, "the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made" (Rom. i. 20). Now, obviously, it is not for the citizens that such a ladder is necessary, but only for exiles. The Apostle was not unaware of this, because after saying that the invisible things of God are seen and understood by means of His visible works, he added significantly, "by the creature of the earth."* And in truth, what need have *they* of a ladder who have already reached the summit? Such is the case with the creature of heaven, the holy angel, who has ready to hand a means of contemplating those invisible objects more perfectly because more directly. He sees the Word, and in the Word all that the Word has created. Consequently he is under no necessity of seeking a knowledge of the Creator from the works of His hand. And even with regard to these, he has not to descend to them in order to know them, because he contemplates them in the Divine Essence where they are seen far more distinctly and perfectly than in their own natures.† Hence the angel does not require the instrumentality of bodily sense for the perception of bodily objects: he is rather a sense to himself and per-

* So the Saint interprets the expression, "a creatura mundi," which indeed can bear this sense, although the Douay Translators have rendered it, "from the creation of the world." The Greek, "ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου" is equally ambiguous. See *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, vol. i. p. 35 (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

† Cf. Sermons V. and LIII. on the Canticle of Canticles, also St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. q. lvii. a. 1.

ceives by his spiritual substance.* This is the most excellent manner of knowing : when a being is not dependent on any foreign support, but fully self-sufficient to attain to whatever knowledge it pleases. For that which is in want of assistance from outside itself is in the same measure less secure, less perfect, and less free.

But what shall I say of the being which is dependent on the help not only of things outside itself, but even of things subordinate to itself ? Is not this kind of dependence preposterous and unworthy ? It is surely a dishonour for a noble nature to have to seek assistance from one of inferior degree. Yet from this dishonour no man shall be completely delivered until he has been translated into " the liberty of the glory of the children of God " (Rom. viii. 21). For then " they shall all be taught of God " (John vi. 45), they shall all be made happy by God alone without the intervention of any creature. This shall be our repatriation, when, namely, we shall have emerged from the region of bodies and entered the world of spirits, which is nothing else but our God Himself, the Infinite Spirit, and the limitless Home of the happy angels. Let neither the senses nor the imagination expect to find in that Dwell-Place, viz., in God, anything on which they may be exercised, because all that It contains is Truth, and

* Strictly speaking, an angel can perceive only himself directly by his substance without any intermediate idea. But as the ideas through which he cognises all other objects, spiritual as well as material, have been impressed on his mind at his creation by natural exigency and belong to the perfection of his intellectual nature, whatever he perceives in this way he may be said to perceive by himself or by his substance, that is, independently of anything outside himself or of any activity on the part of the object. Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. qq. lv.-lvii. ; Suarez, *de Angelis*, cciii.-vi. ; St. Bernard, Sermons V. and LIII. on the Canticle of Canticles.—(Translator.)

Wisdom, and Power, and Eternity, and the Sovereign Good. But it is far removed from us so long as we live here below ; and meantime the place of our sojourn is a valley of tears where the senses reign supreme and consideration is in exile ; where the material organs act with full power and liberty, but where the eye of the soul is clouded and dimmed. What wonder, therefore, that the exile should need the assistance of the native ? And happy the wayfarer who, during the time of his pilgrimage, knows how to convert the free favour of the citizens, without which he cannot accomplish his journey, into a bounden service, employing their goods as means, not resting in them as ends ; claiming and requisitioning, instead of asking or requesting them.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE THREE DEGREES OF CONSIDERATION.

Great is he who, according to what has been said, regards the service of the senses as the wealth belonging to the natives of this land of his exile, and so endeavours to put it to the best use by employing it for his own and his neighbour's salvation. Nor less great is he who, by philosophising, uses the senses as a stepping-stone for attaining to things invisible. The only difference is that the latter occupation is manifestly the more pleasant, the former the more profitable : the one demands more fortitude, the other yields greater delight. But greatest of all is he who, dispensing altogether with the use of the senses and of sensible objects, so far at least as is possible to human fragility, is accustomed, not by toilsome and gradual ascents but by

sudden flights of the spirit, to soar aloft in contemplation from time to time, even to those sublime and immaterial realities. To this last kind of consideration as I think, belong the transports of St. Paul. For they were rather raptures than ascents : he does not say that he mounted, but that " he was caught up into paradise " (2 Cor. xii. 4). And in another place he writes, " Whether we be transported in mind, it is to God " (ibid. v. 13). Now these three degrees are attained in the following manner. Consideration, even in the place of its banishment, by the pursuit of virtue and the help of grace, rises superior to the senses ; and then either represses them lest they should wax wanton, or keeps them within due bounds lest they should wander away, or it avoids them altogether lest they should tarnish its purity. In the first it appears more powerful, in the second more free, and more pure in the third. For purity and fervour are the two wings which it uses in its flight.

Dost thou desire me to distinguish each of these three kinds of consideration by its proper name ? Well, if it pleases thee, let us call the first ' dispensative ' consideration, the second ' estimative,' and the third, ' contemplative.' The meaning of these names will appear from their definitions. Dispensative consideration is that which uses the senses and sensible objects in an orderly and unselfish manner as a means of meriting God ; estimative consideration is that which prudently and diligently examines everything and ponders everything in search of God ; contemplative consideration is that which, concentrating itself in itself, disengages itself—in so far as it is assisted by divine grace—from all earthly human occupations and interests in order to

contemplate God. Notice carefully that contemplative consideration is the fruit of the other two species, and that these latter, unless referred to it, are not really what they are called. For dispensative consideration apart from contemplative, sows much indeed, but reaps nothing ; and similarly, out of relation to contemplative, that which I have called estimative advances, I allow, but never reaches its term. Therefore it may be said that what the first prepares, the second enjoys the odour of, and the third the taste. Nevertheless, it is true that both dispensative and estimative consideration can also bring us to the taste, but not so speedily. And as between these, the first attains the goal with more labour, the second with more tranquillity.*

CHAPTER III.

THE PONTIFF IS INFORMED AS TO WHAT ARE THE THINGS
ABOVE HIM AND HOW THEY ARE TO BE CONSIDERED.

Perchance thou wilt tell me here that I have explained clearly enough by what way thou art to ascend, and

* The degrees of consideration given here correspond to the three 'ways' of the spiritual life: the purgative way, or the way of beginners; the illuminative way, which is proper to proficients; and the unitive way, wherein only the perfect walk. The prayer practised in the first is discursive (meditation), in the second, affective, in the third, contemplative. St. Bernard names and defines his species of Consideration in relation to the senses. The first is called 'dispensative,' because it leads us to mortify the senses and so to employ or expend them as means of merit; the second uses the sense faculties as co-operators in the quest after God, estimating the various objects they present according to their utility in leading it to Him hence it is named 'estimative.' Contemplative consideration has no use at all for the senses. Cf. Sermons IV. and XXII. on the Canticle, where the same subject is treated more fully.—(Translator.)

that it now remains to say what is the term of the ascent. Thou art deceived if thou hopest to obtain from me any information concerning this, because it is ineffable. Dost thou think that I shall be able to describe what "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man" (2 Cor. ii. 9)? "But to us," as the Apostle goes on to say, "God hath revealed it by His Spirit" (*ibid.*). Consequently, the things that are above thee cannot be described in words but must be revealed by the Spirit. Seek, then, by consideration for that which thou canst not learn from language, solicit it in prayer, merit it by thy life, attain to it by thy purity. But when I exhort thee to consider the things above thee, thou surely canst not suppose that I am speaking of the sun, moon, and stars, or of the firmament and "the waters that are above the heavens" (Ps. cxlviii. 4), and that I counsel thee to contemplate these. For all such objects, although above thee as regards position in space, are yet below thee in value and natural dignity. They are corporeal in all respects, whereas thou art in part a spirit. Now, thou shalt seek in vain for anything superior to a spirit, and which is not itself spiritual. God is a Spirit, and spirits too are His holy angels, and everyone of these is above thee. But whilst God is superior to thee by nature, the angels are only so by grace.* For that which is most excellent in man and

* "Sed Deus natura, Angeli gratia te superiores sunt." Similarly St. Augustine: "Animas rationales superioribus potestatibus esse officio impares, natura vero pares" (*de Lib. Arbit.*, l. iii. c. ii.); "nihil est melius rationali anima nisi Deus" (*Quaest.* liv.). According to Suarez (*de Angelis*, l. i. c. i.), these expressions of the holy Doctors are to be understood with reference to the intellectual grade common to angels and men, both being endowed with finite and accidental knowledge faculties, and, in the view favoured by the same Doctors,

in the angels is the power of understanding common to both ; but we may not speak of anything most excellent in God, since all that He is is one supreme indistinguishable Excellence. There are three means or ways by which God and the blessed spirits who dwell with Him may be made the object of our consideration, and they are opinion, faith, and understanding. As to these, understanding depends upon evidence, and faith upon authority, whilst opinion has no other support than the mere similitude of truth. Both faith and understanding possess certain truth, yet with this difference, that in the former it is veiled and surrounded with obscurity, whereas in the latter it appears naked and manifest. In opinion there is no certainty at all, and we may say of it that it does not take hold of, but rather seeks out the truth by probable signs and indications.

We must be particularly on our guard against confounding any one of these with another, lest, for instance, we should attribute the certainty of faith to what is only matter of free opinion ; or, on the other hand, should look upon as open to opinion what faith has ratified and fixed. This also is worth remembering : that whilst opinion is guilty of rashness as often as it makes an assertory pronouncement, hesitancy is evidence of weakness on the part of faith. Understanding likewise deserves to be considered an intruder and a " searcher of majesty " (Prov. xxv. 27) if ever it attempts

both being also rational animals. Angels and men are also equal in their relation to God as their last end, in their immediate subjection to Him as their Legislator, in their membership of His family, and in their capacity for grace and glory, which capacity is not really distinct from their intellectual natures.—(Translator.)

to break open what has been sealed by faith. Many have fallen into error by mistaking their own opinion for understanding. And in truth it is very possible to believe that to be understanding which is really only opinion : but understanding can never be mistaken for opinion. How is this ? Because whilst the latter may be deceived, the former is infallible. Consequently, if that which we have looked upon as understanding shows itself liable to error, it is thereby proved to be not understanding at all, but only opinion. For real understanding implies both certainty of the truth known and certainty of the knowledge of the truth.* Accordingly, we may thus define these three modes of consideration : faith is the certain but voluntary assent to a truth not yet evident ; understanding is the certain and evident knowledge of any supersensible object ; and opinion consists in holding as true whatever is not manifestly false. Hence, as I have already remarked, faith admits of no uncertainty, and wherever uncertainty is found, there we have not faith but opinion.† But in what does faith differ from understanding ? In

* That is to say, not only must the object of assent be true in itself, but the mind must have clear perception of its truth : in other words, there must be both objective and subjective certitude (cf. Hickey, *Sum. Schol. Phil.*, vol. i. n. 165). There is a striking resemblance between these words of St. Bernard concerning 'understanding' (*intellectus*) and Cardinal Newman's definition of certitude (*Grammar of Assent*, p. 190) : "Certitude is the perception of a truth with the perception that it is a truth." And it is also worthy of remark that the Cardinal imitates our Author in making indefectibility the test and characteristic whereby certitude is to be distinguished from its counterfeits. Cf. *Grammar of Assent*, pp. 248-251.—(Translator.)

† So Newman denies that Protestants have any faith, because they do not claim to be infallibly certain of the truths they believe : their religion is but a set of opinions. Cf. Sermon on Faith and Private Judgment, amongst the *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*.—(Translator.)

this, that whereas all uncertainty is excluded from both, the former, unlike the latter, holds the truth wrapped up in mystery. For that which thou understandest thou hast no further need to investigate, or if thou hast, this is a proof that thou dost not yet fully understand. But there is nothing we more ardently desire to investigate than what we already know by faith.* And when those truths which are certain to us now with the certainty of faith shall become also and equally evident, nothing more will be wanting to our happiness.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THE HOLY ANGELS ARE TO BE CONSIDERED.

Having done with these preliminary questions, let us now direct our consideration to "that Jerusalem which is above, and which is our mother" (Gal. iv. 26) ; and by the three ways mentioned in the preceding chapter let us try with all caution and vigilance to search out the unsearchable—that is to say, so far as it is lawful, or rather, so far as it shall be given us. And in the first place we know from the Scriptures and we hold on faith that the heavenly city is peopled

* " The truths of faith are known with the greatest certitude in so far as certitude imports firmness of adhesion—for there is nothing to which we more firmly adhere than to the truths of faith ; but they are not known with the greatest certitude in so far as certitude imports the mind's resting in the truth perceived. For the assent of faith is not due to the fact that the intellect cognises the objects of faith in virtue of any principles, but is due to the influence of the will, which inclines the intellect to assent to such objects. And hence it is that doubt can arise in the believer's mind in regard to the truths he believes " (St. Thomas, Q. D. xi. v. 10, a. 12).—(Translator.)

by finite spirits, powerful, glorious, and blissful, distinct in their personalities, arranged in the order of dignity, preserving always the places assigned them in the beginning, perfect in their various species, clothed with ethereal bodies, endowed with immortal life, impassible not by creation but by free endowment, that is to say, not by nature but by grace, pure in mind, benevolent in disposition, fervent in piety, inviolate in chastity, united in sentiment, established in peace, deriving their existence from the will of God and entirely devoted to the divine praise and service. However, with regard to the angelic bodies, there are some who doubt not only about their composition, but even as to whether they exist at all. Consequently, I should not quarrel with him who should maintain that this is a question not of faith, but of opinion.* Furthermore, that the angels are endowed with intelligence, we hold, not as something revealed by faith, nor yet as a mere matter of opinion, but with the certainty of understanding : because it is evident to our reason that they cannot be devoid of intelligence and at the same time enjoy the possession of God.† The names of some of them also are known to us “ by hearing,” from which we can form some kind of judgment or conjecture concerning the various offices, merits, dignities, and orders of these blessed spirits, even though such knowledge has not itself been clearly communicated to mortal hearing. But that which is not known through hearing

* Cf. Sermon V. on the Canticle of Canticles.

† The Saint does not deny it to be of faith that the angels are endowed with intelligence ; he merely affirms that this truth has not been revealed in itself, but in another which necessarily implies it, and from which it can be deduced by an immediate inference of the reason. So Suarez, *de Angelis*, l. i. c. i. n. 2.—(Translator.)

is manifestly not of faith, since "faith cometh by hearing" (Rom. x. 17). Therefore, whatever I shall have to say about questions of this kind must be understood as simply an expression of opinion. And why, it may be asked, have the names of the inhabitants of heaven been revealed to us at all, unless we are permitted, without prejudice to faith, to form our own conclusions concerning the meaning of the names? Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim—these are the names of the heavenly choirs.* But what do these names signify? Surely we are not to imagine that there is no difference, except in name, between those spirits, for instance, who are called simply Angels and those denominated Archangels? It is necessary therefore to explain what is the distinction of degrees which appears to correspond to this distinction of appellatives.

Let us suppose, then (unless thou hast something more plausible to suggest), that the name of Angels is given to those heavenly spirits who, as we believe, are appointed to watch over men, one for each, "being sent," as the Apostle says, "to minister for them, who shall receive the inheritance of salvation" (Heb. i. 14). It is of the same the Lord speaks where He tells us that the Angels always see the Face of His Father (Matt. xviii. 10). Let us suppose that next above the Angels are the Archangels, who, as the confidants of the more secret counsels of God, are only sent to earth on embassies of great and special importance. Thus we read (Luke i. 26) how the glorious

* Cf. *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, vol. i. p. 185 (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

Archangel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary, on a mission the most momentous that can be conceived. Over these let us place the Virtues, who by their will or agency, work signs and prodigies either in the elements or with their concurrence, and exhibit the same for the admonition of mortals. And perhaps this is the reason why the Lord in the Gospel, after saying that "there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars," added almost immediately, "For the Virtues (*virtutes*) of heaven shall be moved" (Luke xxi. 25, 26), as if He would imply that these are the spirits by whom the signs are wrought. Let us suppose that next to the Virtues in order of dignity come the Powers, by whose might the powers of darkness are subdued and "the prince of the power of this air" (Ephes. ii. 2) held in check, so that his malignity cannot hurt us as much as he desires, or do us any evil but such as may be turned to our advantage. Over the Powers are placed the Principalities, who by their wisdom and authority establish, govern, limit, transfer, break up, or alter every principality that exists upon the earth.

Let us believe that the Dominations are so far exalted above each of the preceding choirs that, with respect to them, these latter are all "ministering spirits," and that it is with dependence on them, as on true overlords, are exercised the governing authority of the Principalities, the protectorate of the Powers, the operations of the Virtues, the illuminating office of the Archangels, and the guardianship and providence of the Angels. As to the Thrones, we may conjecture that they are elevated above the Dominations by an equally wide interval, and owe their name to

the fact that they are seated : and the reason of their being seated is that the Lord is seated upon them. For manifestly He could not sit upon them unless they were themselves seated. Thou mayest inquire what are we to understand by this sitting of the Thrones. In my opinion, it signifies the most perfect tranquillity, the most placid serenity, and a " peace which surpasseth all understanding " (Philipp. iv. 6). For such is He Who is seated upon the Thrones, the Lord God of Sabaoth, judging all things with tranquillity, most placid, most serene, most peaceful. And as He is in Himself so has He made those blessed spirits whereupon He vouchsafes to sit. Still higher may we suppose the Cherubim, who drink from the very fount of wisdom, even from the mouth of the Most High, and communicate the waters of knowledge to all the other inhabitants of heaven. And perhaps it is to this the Prophet alludes where he says that " the stream of the river maketh the city of God joyful " (Ps. xlv. 5). With regard to the Seraphim, finally, let us believe that they are celestial spirits wholly inflamed with divine love, whose office it is to enkindle the same fire in all their fellow-citizens, so that each of them all may be a burning and a shining light (John v. 35), burning with charity, shining with knowledge.*

O Eugenius, how good it is for us to be here (Matt. xvii. 4) ! But how much happier will be our lot if ever we are allowed to follow hither with our

* For a fuller treatment of this subject, see Sermon XIX. on the Canticle of Canticles. In his explanation of the names and functions of the different angelic choirs, our author follows closely St. Gregory the Great (Hom. xxxiv. in *Evangel.*) and does not differ materially from St. Thomas (*Sum. Theol.*, I. q. cviii. a. 5, 6), or Suarez (*de Angelis*, I. i. c. xiii.). Cf. Mazella, *de Deo Creante*, disp. ii. pp. 212-215.—(Translator.)

whole being whither we have already arrived in a part of ourselves ! Already, I say, we have ascended in spirit to the heavenly Jerusalem, yet not with our whole spirit, but only with a part, yea, and with an exceedingly small part. For our affections lie grovelling on the earth, kept down by the weight of this corporeal mass and by a multitude of carnal appetites, so that it is only our consideration, weak and dry and delicate as it is, that can as yet mount upward, anticipating, so to speak, all our other powers. And nevertheless even such a glimpse of the holy city as is now permitted us in this way is enough to make us cry out with the Psalmist, " I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of Thy house, and the place where Thy glory dwelleth " (Ps. xxv. 8). What, then, should it be if our whole soul, concentrating herself in herself and recalling her manifold affections from the various objects by which they are still held captive, whilst she fears what she should not fear and loves things unworthy, vainly grieves and more vainly rejoices : what should it be, I say, if, with all her energies thus collected and with the fullest freedom, she were to take her heaven-ward flight and to soar aloft under the impulse of the Spirit, her motion rendered smooth and easy by the unction of grace ? And when she proceeded to explore the luminous mansions above, to examine with pious curiosity even Abraham's Bosom, and to contemplate the souls of the martyrs reposing under the mystical altar (Apoc. vi. 9)—whatever that may be—already clad in the first robe and most patiently awaiting the second* : should she not then even with much greater

* In his fourth Sermon for the Feast of All Saints, the holy Doctor takes Abraham's Bosom to mean Limbo, and the Altar

fervour cry out with the Royal Prophet, "One thing I have asked of the Lord, this will I seek after : that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, that I may see the will * of the Lord and may visit His temple " (Ps. xxvi. 4) ? For those who enter that temple, are they not permitted to behold there the very Heart of God ? Shall we not there be given to " prove what is the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God " (Rom. xii. 2), " good in itself, acceptable in its effects, and more acceptable to such as enjoy these effects, perfect to the perfect and to those that seek for nothing outside it ? There shall be exposed to our view the bowels of divine mercy. There God will make manifest to us His " thoughts of peace " (Jer. xxix. 11), and the riches of His salvation (Is. xxxiii. 6), and the mysteries of His goodwill, and the secrets of His benignity, which are now veiled to our mortal eyes and objects of suspicion even to the elect. Such concealment of the divine counsels is necessary for us at present, lest we should cease to fear before we have attained the capacity for perfect love.

There also we shall behold exhibited in the spirits called the Seraphim how He loves, Who must always be Himself the only motive of His loving, and Who hateth

beneath which the souls of the martyrs are said to repose, he understands to be the Sacred Humanity. As for the robes here referred to, the first, already possessed, is the glory of the soul ; the second is the glory destined for the body at the general Resurrection. Cf. St. Bernard's *Sermons for the Seasons and Principal Festivals of the Year*, vol. i. p. 323 (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

* " *Ut videam voluntatem Domini.* " So this verse was read in many Latin Codices until the recension made at the close of the sixteenth century by the authority of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., when the reading, " *ut videam voluptatem,* " was made universal.—(Translator.)

none of the things that He hath made (Wisdom xi. 25) ; how He fosters, how He advances, how He embraces those whom He has created to be saved ; how the fire of His charity consumes in His elect the sins of their youth and the chaff of their ignorances, and thus renders them entirely pure and most worthy of His love. We shall see in the Cherubim, whose name signifies fulness of knowledge, that " the Lord is a God of all knowledge " (1 Kings ii. 3) ; Who alone of all beings is ignorant of naught but ignorance ; Who is all Light admitting no fellowship with darkness ; Who is all Eye, and an Eye Which can never be deceived because It is always open ; Who is not dependent on any light outside Himself to enable Him to see, being not only the Eye Which sees but also the Light whereby It sees.* In the Thrones we shall perceive how little cause innocence has to be afraid of the Judge Who is seated upon them, and Who is as unwilling to circumvent as He is incapable of being circumvented : because namely, He is infinite Love and infinite Wisdom. Neither is the sitting without its significance, for it symbolises the tranquillity of His judgments. " Let my judgment come forth from Thy countenance " (Ps. xvi. 2), O Lord, I pray Thee, in Whom love is ever abiding, to Whom error and perturbation have no access. The Dominations will show us how great is the majesty of the Lord Who governs by His sole will, and Whose empire knows no other bounds than those

* " Qui solus solam nesciat ignorantiam ; qui totus sit lux et tenebrae in Eo non sint ullae ; totus sit Oculus et qui minime aliquando fallitur quia minime clauditur ; qui extra se non quaerat lumen cui admoveatur ut videat : Ipse qui videt Ipse unde videt." This is a fair specimen of St. Bernard's style, and will give some idea of his subtlety and power of condensation.—(Translator.)

of universality and eternity. In the Principalities it shall be given us to contemplate that Principle from Which all being proceeds and on Which the whole universe depends and turns as a door on its hinges. We shall behold in the Powers how potently the Supreme Ruler of all protects those whom He governs, restraining and beating off the opposing powers. In the Virtues shall be made manifest to us that Divine Virtue which is equally present everywhere, conserving all things in existence, vivifying, effectual, invisible and motionless, yet at the same time beneficently moving and firmly holding everything that is : Whose less familiar effects amongst mortal creatures we are accustomed to call miracles or prodigies. Lastly, we shall see and admire in the Angels and Archangels the truth and fulfilment of that which is written, " For He hath care of you " (1 Peter v. 7), He Who does not cease to gladden us with the visits of princes so great and so holy, to enlighten us with their instructions, to admonish us with their suggestions, and to console us with their assiduous ministrations.

CHAPTER V.

THAT THE OPERATIONS PROPER TO THE DIFFERENT ANGELIC CHOIRS REPRESENT DIFFERENT PERFECTIONS IN GOD.*

All these graces and prerogatives manifested in them, the angelic choirs owe to Him to Whom they owe

* " The name of each angelic order signifies a participation of a perfection which is in God, as, for instance, the name virtues signifies a participation of the Divine virtue."—St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. q. cviii. a. 5.—(Translator.)

their existence, "one and the same Spirit dividing to every one according as He wills" (1 Cor. xii. 11). All these operations He works in them, and allows them to work also, but in a different manner. Thus, the Seraphim burn, but it is with the fire of God, or rather with the fire which is itself God. Their distinguishing attribute is intensity of love, yet they do not love as intensely as God loves, nor in the same way. The Cherubim shine and in knowledge are pre-eminent. Still they possess truth only by participation, and therefore neither in the same manner nor in the same fulness in which it is possessed by Him Who is Truth by Essence. The Thrones are seated, but they owe this to the condescension of Him Who sits upon them. They also judge with tranquillity, yet not according to the measure or mode of Him Who is pacifying Peace, Peace "which surpasseth all understanding" (Philipp. iv. 7). The Dominations exercise dominion, but they do so with dependence on the one Supreme Lord, Whom at the same time they serve. And what is their dominion as compared with the sovereign, sempiternal, and singular dominion that belongs to Him? The Principalities govern as He does. But they are also governed by Him, and in such a way that they would lose the power to govern the moment they ceased to be governed. Might is the characteristic perfection of the Powers. But He from Whose bounty they have received their might is mighty too, and mightier than they: indeed, it would be more proper to call Him Might than mighty. The Virtues, in accordance with their office and special efficiency, endeavour by a renewal of prodigies to arouse the hearts of men from a state of torpor. But it is the

Divine Virtue abiding in them that "doth the works" (John xiv. 10). Not that they also do not work, but in comparison with the divine operation, theirs is as if it were not. For so great is the difference between their part and God's that the Psalmist, addressing the Lord, says to Him as if He were the sole agent, "Thou art the God Who dost wonders" (Ps. lxxvi. 15), and elsewhere sings of Him, "Who alone doth great wonders" (Ps. cxxxv. 4). The Angels and Archangels, finally, stand near to assist us. But nearer still is He Who is not only at our side but dwelling in our hearts.

But it may be said that the angels also can abide within us. That I do not deny. For I remember what is written, "And the angel that spoke in me said to me, etc." (Zach. i. 14). Nevertheless, there is a vast difference between the mode of interior presence possible to an angel and that which is proper to God. The angel is present to the soul, not as working good in her, but merely as suggesting good thoughts; not as rendering her virtuous, but only as inciting her to virtue. But the divine indwelling affects the soul immediately by an infusion of graces, or rather by an infusion and communication of the Divine Substance Itself, so that God may be said to be one spirit with ours, although not one person or one substance. Hence the Apostle says, "He who is joined to the Lord is one spirit" (1 Cor. vi. 17). The angel, therefore, is rather *with* the soul, but God is *in* her. The angel is present as the soul's intimate companion, God as her life. Accordingly, just as the soul sees in the eyes, hears in the ears, smells in the nostrils, tastes in the palate, touches in every part of the body: in the same

manner does God exhibit different operations in the different angelic choirs, in the Seraphim, for example, revealing Himself as loving, in the Cherubim as knowing, and manifesting other aspects of His life in others, according as "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one unto profit" (1 Cor. xii. 7). What, then, is He Whose name is so constantly on our lips and Whose Being is so remote from us? * How is it that whilst we speak of Him so familiarly, He remains concealed in His majesty, entirely beyond the reach both of our sight and of our affections? Listen to what He says Himself to mortals, "As the heavens are exalted above the earth, so are My ways exalted above your ways, and My thoughts above your thoughts" (Is. lv. 9). We are said to love, and God also is said to love; we are said to know, and God also is said to know; and there are numerous other attributes which are similarly spoken of as common to God and ourselves. But God loves as Charity, He knows as Truth, He judges as Equity, He dominates as Majesty, He rules as Principality, He protects as Salvation, He operates as Power, He reveals as Light, He assists as Piety. All these operations belong to the angels also and likewise to men, yet in a manner far inferior. For they belong to creatures not in virtue of the good which they are, but by reason of the good which they participate.

* Remote, that is to say, from our sensible experience, as "inhabiting light inaccessible, Whom no man hath seen nor can see" (1 Tim. vi. 16). But the same Apostle assures us that "He is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live and move and be" (Acts vii. 27, 28).—(Translator.)

CHAPTER VI.

THAT THE NAMES AND NOTIONS OF BEING AND BEGINNING BELONG MOST PROPERLY TO GOD.

Ascend now in thought above this world of created spirits, if perchance to thee also it may be given to say with the Spouse of the Canticle, "When I had passed a little beyond them I found Him Whom my soul loveth" (Canticle iii. 4). But Who is He? I cannot better answer this question than by saying that He is Who is. For this is the name which He desired should be given Him; this is the name which He Himself revealed, what time He commanded Moses to announce to the Hebrew people, "He Who is hath sent me to you" (Exod. iii. 14). And a most appropriate name it is. What other could express so aptly the eternity which is God? Thou mayest speak of God as good, or as great, or as blissful, or as wise; thou mayest predicate of Him whatever other perfections thou pleasest: yet in this one word thou summeest up all when thou sayest that He *is*. For to Him to be is to be all perfect. Therefore, though thou shouldst assign Him a thousand such properties, thou hast not got beyond what His existence implies. Thou dost not add anything to it by expressing them, nor detract from it anything by omitting them. Now if thou considerest well this unique and sovereign Being, must it not seem to thee that whatever is distinct from It is in comparison rather not-being than being?

Again, what is God? That without Which nothing is. It is as impossible that anything else should exist without Him as that He should exist without Himself. For He exists not alone for Himself, but also for every-

thing else that is. And therefore we may say, at least in a certain sense, that He alone exists Who is both His own existence and the existence of all beside.*

What is God? He is the Beginning. This name also He has given Himself (John viii. 25). The name of beginning is applied to many things in the universe, and always with respect to what proceeds from them in some manner. But when we discover or consider something else from which such beginnings have themselves proceeded, it is now *that* and no longer *these* to which we give the name of the beginning. Wherefore if thou seekest for the true and absolute beginning, thou shalt of necessity find it to be something which itself had no beginning. Now it is evident that that Being had no beginning Which is the beginning of all the rest. For if It had a beginning, It must manifestly have begun from some antecedent being; because nothing ever begins from itself. Unless some one perchance will contend that what had as yet no existence could have caused itself to begin, or that it existed before it was. But since neither of these hypotheses approves itself to right reason, it follows that nothing can be to itself a beginning of existence. Besides, that which had its beginning from an antecedent being is plainly not the first being. Consequently the true and absolute Beginning can Itself have had no beginning, and all things else had their beginning from It.

What is God? A Being for Whom time has neither

* In Sermon IV. on the Canticle of Canticles the Saint says, "I speak of God as the Being of all His creatures, not in the sense that they are what He is, but because 'from Him, and by Him, and in Him are all.' The Creator, then, is the Being of all He has made, but efficiently, not formally."—(Translator.)

future nor past, and is nevertheless not with Him co-eternal.

What is God? He "from Whom, and by Whom, and in Whom are all things" (Rom. xi. 36): from Whom are all things, but by creation out of nothing, not by emanation, or by production from something pre-existing; by Whom are all things because we must believe that He Who is the First Author is likewise the Fashioner of all; * in Whom are all things, yet not as in place, but as in virtue or power: from Whom are all things, as from one common Principle and Source of all; by Whom are all things, lest we should suppose that the matter created by one Principle received form and shape from another; in Whom are all things, because space† must not be conceived as a third reality, distinct from God and the universe. Observe that all things are said to be *from* (*ex*) Him, not *of* (*de*) Him. because He is not matter but spirit: He is the efficient, not the material Cause of things. Vainly have the philosophers sought for the elements out of which God constructed the universe. For God had no need of such elements; neither had He need of a workshop or of an artisan. He by Himself made all things. Out of what? Out of nothing. For if He made them out of something pre-existing, then that something He did not make, and consequently He could not be truly

* "Per quem omnia, ne alium Auctorem atque alium Opificem arbitreris." This seems to be an allusion to the error of the Gnostics who held that the visible universe was made, not by God directly, but by a creature of God whom they called the Logos or the Demiurgus.—(Translator.)

† Space is defined as "a capacity for receiving and containing bodies"; but it does not really differ from the bodies it is conceived as containing. Cf. Hickey, *Sum. Schol. Phil.*, vol. ii. n. 67-72; also Rickaby, *General Metaphysics*, pp. 369-371.—(Translator.)

said to have made all things. It would be absurd and impious to imagine that so great a multitude of things, good no doubt, yet subject to corruption, have been made by Him from His own incorrupt and incorruptible Substance. But thou mayest ask : if all things else are in Him, where is He ? There is no question I should find it more difficult to answer. What place is sufficient to contain His immensity ? Perhaps thou wilt ask me now where He is not ? Even so much information I am unable to give thee. For what place can be found where God is not present ? God is incomprehensible to the finite understanding. Nevertheless, thou hast attained to no little knowledge concerning Him, if thou canst understand this : that He is nowhere in the sense that He is not circumscribed by any place, and is everywhere in the sense of being excluded from no place. But in that sublime and incomprehensible manner proper to Him, as all things are in Him, so is He in all things. For, as says the Evangelist, " He was in the world " (John i. 10). But on the other hand, we know that where He was before the creation of the world there He has ever remained. There is no need to inquire where He was then. For nothing then existed save Himself. Consequently He was Himself the place of His existence.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE SIMPLICITY OF NATURE AND TRINITY OF PERSONS IN GOD.

What is God ? That than Which nothing more excellent can be conceived. If this definition be acceptable

to thee, thou oughtest not, consequently, to admit that there is anything by which God exists and which itself is not God. For more excellent than God that certainly would be. How could it be otherwise than more excellent than God since as we suppose it is not God and yet gives to God His existence? It is better for us therefore to confess that the Divinity whereby God is said to exist, is Itself nothing distinct from God. There is then in God nothing that is not God. "What?" the heretics * will exclaim; "dost thou deny that God has a Divine Nature?" Surely not: but I maintain that what He *has* that He *is*. "Dost thou deny that He is God by reason of His Divinity?" No, but only that He is God by anything distinct from Himself. But if you make pretence to have discovered something such, I will invoke my Triune God, and assisted by His grace, I will rise up with all boldness against this novel deity. We have quaternity presented to us in the fourfold division of the globe: but it is not the seal of the Godhead. God is Three in Person, and Each of the Three Persons is God. But if some are pleased to represent the Divinity as a fourth Something, distinct from the Persons, I for my part feel persuaded that I ought by no means to adore that which, as I am told, is not God. And I think that thou art of the same mind. For is it not written, "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and Him only thou shalt serve" (Luke iv. 8)? A glorious divinity is that indeed, which dares not claim for itself divine honours! But surely it is more becoming to

* He refers to the followers of Gilbert de la Porrée. Cf. *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, vol. ii. p. 444, note (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

deny such a distinct divinity than, whilst acknowledging it, to leave it without honour. We say that there are many perfections in God, but this is to be understood in the true and Catholic sense, according to which what is virtually manifold is really one. Were we to think otherwise, we should not have a quaternity, but an infinite multiplicity. Thus, for instance, we say that God is great, good, just, and so on without end. But obviously, unless thou considerest all such perfections to be one and the same in God and with God, thou wilt be forced to acknowledge a multiplied deity.

But as for me, I can easily conceive of something more excellent than such a manifold god. Dost thou ask what it is? It is a God Who is absolutely simple. A sound judgment prefers a simple nature to one that is composite.* I know the answer which is usually made to this. "It is not our contention," I shall be told, "that God owes His existence to a multitude of distinct perfections, but only that He exists in virtue of His Divinity." God therefore is asserted to consist, if not of many, at least of two distinct elements; and so we have not yet attained to the absolutely simple, or to that than which nothing more excellent can be conceived. For that which is composite by reason of even a single form can no more be called simple than the wife of one husband can be called a virgin. I say, then, without fear, that even this two-

* Composition is said to be a 'mixed perfection,' as essentially including imperfection: the very plurality of parts denotes the insufficiency of each and the dependence of the whole on some unitive agency. Simplicity, on the contrary, is called a 'pure perfection,' because there is no imperfection implied in its idea. Therefore, *cæteris paribus*, a simple nature is more excellent than a composite.—(Translator.)

fold deity shall not be my God : because I have One better. A god that is constituted of only two parts is preferable, I allow, to one that is multiplex, but altogether worthy of scorn as compared with a simple. This simple Deity of mine is the only God Whom a Catholic may worship. He has in Himself no more *this* and *that* than He has *these* and *those*. He is *Who* is, not *the things which are*. Pure, simple, integral, perfect, always the same, He borrows nothing from time, nothing from place, nothing from external objects ; neither does He lose to them anything of His own. There is in Him nothing capable of division into elements, nor are there any elements capable of being combined into a unity. That is to say, He is one simply, not one by composition. He is not composed of parts like a body, He has no variety of affections like a soul, He admits of no plurality of forms, as does everything that is made, nor even of a single form, as some moderns imagine. As if, forsooth, it were a great glory for God that He requires no more than one form to preserve Himself from indetermination—that whereas all other beings owe their existence to a multitude of forms, God alone can exist with one ! What ? Shall He by Whose benefit all that exists, shall He have to depend for His own existence on the benefit of something distinct from Himself ? Praise, such as this, as the proverb says, is equivalent to blasphemy. Is it not higher perfection to stand in need of no form than to stand in need of one ? Let us therefore have so much reverence for God as to credit Him with that which is the more perfect. For if our thought can ascend to this height of perfection why should we place our God on a lower level ?

Let us acknowledge then that He is both form and essence to Himself. In this degree I will contemplate Him until I discover another more elevated—if such there be—to which I am prepared to raise Him immediately. Perhaps I ought to fear lest my thought should fly above Him? No, to whatever height it may lift itself, He shall be always higher still. To seek the Most High beneath the highest that man can conceive were surely absurd, whilst to place Him so low would be impious. We must look for Him not below but above our loftiest flights of thought.*

Ascend still higher, if thou canst, to a "higher heart, and God shall be exalted" (Ps. lxiii. 7). God is rather a Form, pure and subsisting, than something possessing form. Similarly, He is more properly described as a subsisting Affection than as something modified by affection. There is no composition in God: He is absolute Simplicity. And that thou mayest clearly understand what I mean by simplicity, I take it here as identical with unity.† God is as simple as He is one. But He is one in a manner in which nothing else is one. He is uniquely one (*unissimus*) if I may be allowed the expression. The sun is one in the sense that there is no second sun; the moon is one in the same way; because there is no other moon. God also is one in this way; but He is one in another sense as well. What is that? He is one with Himself. Dost thou desire me to explain myself further? He is always the same, always abiding unchangeably in one and the

* Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. q. xi. a. 4.

† The simple alone is perfectly one as being both actually and potentially undivided in itself. That which is compound is manifold in its parts and is rather a union than a unity. Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, q. xii. a. 4.—(Translator.)

same state. Not so is the sun one, not so the moon. Both of these proclaim in the clearest manner, the former by its motions, the latter by its phases, that they are not one with themselves. But God is not alone one with Himself : He is likewise one *in* Himself. He has nothing in Him which is not Himself. He suffers no change from the passage of time, neither does He experience any modification of His Substance. Hence Boethius says of Him, " That is truly one in Which there is nothing capable of being numbered, in Which there is nothing save That Which It is. For being Itself a pure Form, It cannot become the subject of a form." Compare with this Unity everything else that can be called one, and it will appear no longer worthy of the name. Nevertheless God is Three in Person. What then ? Do we contradict what has been said about the Unity of God by asserting the Trinity ? No, but we establish the unity. We say the Father is God, and we say the Son is God, and we say the Holy Spirit is God. But we say They are one God, not three Gods. What means this number without number, if I may so speak ? If there are three, how is there not number ? If there is only one, what can we find to number ? " But," thou wilt say, " I perceive in God something which can be numbered and also something which cannot. For there is only one Substance whilst the Persons are three. Is there anything mysterious or even obscure in this ? " Nothing, I allow, provided the Persons are conceived apart from the Substance. But since, as a matter of fact, the three Persons are really the one Substance, and the one Substance the three Persons : how can it be denied that there is number in God, for the Persons are un-

doubtedly three? And, on the other hand, how can number be admitted, seeing that the Persons are as undoubtedly one? But if thou considerest this to be easy of explanation, tell me what thou hast numbered when thou sayest that God is three? Is it natures? There is but one Nature in God. Or essences? He has only one Essence. Or substances? There is no more than one. Or deities? One again. "It is not any of these that I number," thou wilt perhaps say, "but the Persons." Yes, but dost thou think that these Persons are not All and Each identical with the one Nature, and with the one Substance, and with the one Essence, and with the one Divinity? Thou canst not believe so, because thou art a Catholic.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT THE PLURALITY OF PERSONS IN GOD IS DUE TO THE PERSONAL PROPERTIES OR RELATIONS, THE ESSENCE REMAINING ONE AND SIMPLE.

Catholic faith obliges us to acknowledge that the Personal Properties are nothing distinct from the Persons, and that the Persons likewise are nothing distinct from the one God, the one Divine Substance, the one Divine Nature, the one Divine and Sovereign Majesty. Number, therefore, if thou canst, either the Persons without the Substance with Which They are identical, or the Personal Properties without the Persons from Whom They are not really distinct. But

* On the subject of the simplicity of Nature and the Trinity of Persons in God, see Letter to Pope Innocent in Appendix, also Sermons LXXI., LXXX., LXXXI. on the Canticle of Canticles.

if thou attemptest to separate either the Persons from the Substance, or the Properties from the Persons, I know not how thou canst pretend to be a worshipper of the Trinity, seeing that thou art ready to admit in God so great a number of different things. Let us, therefore, confess that God is Three, but without prejudice to His Unity of Nature : let us say that He is One, but without confounding His Trinity of Persons ; for the words, one and three, unity and trinity, as applied to God, are not mere empty sounds, but have a true and definite signification. Some one may now inquire how this can be true which I declare to be an article of Catholic faith. I answer that he must be satisfied with believing firmly that it is so. It is not evident to natural reason, neither is it left to the ambiguity of opinion, but it is certified to us by faith. For it is a great mystery, which we are bound to accept with reverence, instead of attempting to fathom. How can there be plurality in unity and in so perfect a unity ? Or how can unity exist in plurality ? To scrutinise this mystery is rashness, to believe it is piety, to know it is life, yea, life eternal.

And now, Holy Father, if it seems good to thee, let thy consideration pass in review the various species of unity so that the supereminence of this singular and divine Unity may appear the more manifest. There is, then, the unity which may be called collective, as when many stones are united in one heap. There is the constitutive unity, where many members constitute one body, or many parts any kind of whole. There is the conjugal unity by which two persons are no longer two but one flesh. There is the natural unity whereby soul and body combine to produce one

man. There is the moral unity by which the man of virtue and character endeavours to guard against all instability and inconsistency so that he may be always found true to himself. There is also the unity of sentiment, as when a multitude of men, under the influence of charity, have but one heart and one soul. Another species of unity is that which I would call affective, whereby the soul, cleaving to God with all the force of her desires, is made one spirit with Him. Finally, there is the unity of condescension by which our common clay has been exalted and united to the Person of the Word.

But what are all these kinds of unity when compared with the sovereign and unique Unity—if the expression be permitted—which results from consubstantiality? If thou wilt consider them as reflections of that, they shall appear to be unities, at least in some sense; but when compared therewith they lose all resemblance to unity. Therefore amongst all the things that can rightly be called one, the first place must be assigned to the Unity of the Trinity, by which three Persons are one Substance. Next to this in point of excellence comes the unity whereby, contrariwise, three substances are one Person in Christ.* Yet this second unity, as well as every other that can be instanced, is entitled to be called a unity, not by comparison with, but only in imitation of that which is first and supreme, as will appear evident if thou considerest the matter

* Some theologians of name have disapproved of this manner of speech which appears to imply that the Body and Soul of Christ are not more intimately united to each other than are both to the Divinity. Suarez, however, justifies St. Bernard, and shows that he is supported by Pope Gelasius and St. Augustine.—(Translator.)

justly and prudently. Nor do we contradict our belief in that Unity by asserting the Trinity, because in the Trinity we allow no multiplicity, just as we allow no solitude in the Unity. Wherefore, when I say that God is One, I am not disconcerted by the thought of the Trinity, Which, as I know, does not multiply the Essence, or vary, or divide It. Again, when I speak of God as Three, I do not feel put out by the recollection of His Unity, for the Unity of His Nature neither excludes nor confounds the Personal Distinctions.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT AS IN GOD THERE IS ONE NATURE SUBSISTING
IN THREE PERSONS, SO IN CHRIST THERE ARE
THREE NATURES SUBSISTING IN ONE PERSON.

Something similar is the belief I profess to hold regarding the unity to which I have assigned the second place amongst all. For I believe that in Christ the Word Divine, the Human Soul, and the Human Body are one and the same Person without any confusion of their essences, and that the essences preserve their distinction without prejudice to the unity of the Person. Nor am I disposed to deny that this species of unity exhibits some analogies to that whereby soul and body constitute one man. Indeed it was only natural and befitting that the mystery of the Incarnation, accomplished for man's benefit, should bear a certain degree of resemblance to the constitution of man. It was no less natural and befitting that it should have a relation of likeness to the supreme Unity which is in God and is God, so that as in Him three Persons are one

Essence, in the Incarnate Word, by a most becoming contrariety, three essences should be one Person. Dost thou not see how beautifully between the Unity proper to God* and that natural to man has been placed this other, in Him Who has been constituted the "one Mediator of God and men, the Man Christ Jesus"? (1 Tim. ii. 5). A most beautiful disposition indeed, through which the mystery of our salvation corresponds by a certain degree of likeness to both extremes, that is, to Him Who saves and to him who is saved. Accordingly, the unity of Christ, intermediate between the Unity of God and that of man, is less perfect than the former and more perfect than the latter; and is as far above the latter as it is below the former.

So great and intimate is the union effected between God and man by the Person of the Word, existing in Christ in two natures, that each of them thou mayest truly predicate of the other. That is, the true and Catholic faith authorises thee to say that God is man and that man is God.* But not in the same manner mayest thou predicate either the body of the soul or the soul of the body—that would be most absurd—although body and soul constitute one man, just as the Divine and Human Natures are one Christ. Nor is it anything very wonderful that the soul by the vital

* "Supposing the reality of the two natures, the Divine, namely, and the human, and their personal or hypostatic union, it must be said that the enunciation, 'Man is God,' is as true and proper as is its converse, 'God is man.' For the term 'man' may express any hypostasis of human nature, and consequently may express the Person of the Son of God, which Person we suppose to be a hypostasis of human nature. But it is manifest that the name God is truly and properly predicated of the Person of the Son of God. Hence it follows that we can say with truth and propriety, that man is God" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. q. xvi. a. 2).—(Translator.)

power of her intention,* mighty though it be, and by the force of her affections cannot unite and bind to herself the body as intimately as the Divinity clasps to Itself the Man "Who was predestinated the Son of God in power" (Rom. i. 4). Divine predestination is a long and a strong chain for binding, because it reaches back to eternity. What can be longer than that which is eternal? What can be stronger than that which is divine? Hence it is that not even by death could this union be in any degree dissolved, for it continued intact whilst Soul and Body were parted from each other. And perhaps the Precursor had this in mind when, speaking of Christ, he declared himself unworthy to loose the latchet of His shoe † (Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; Acts xiii. 25).

CHAPTER X.

THE PARABLE OF THE THREE MEASURES IS EXPLAINED IN RELATION TO CHRIST.

It seems to me that those three measures of flour mentioned by the Evangelist as having been mixed and

* "Sua illa vitali, etsi non parum valida intentione." The word 'intention' is here used metaphorically to signify the natural necessity which keeps soul and body united.—(Translator.)

† What he means here the Saint explains in another passage, where he says, "The Majesty of the Word has been shod with the shoe of our humanity" (*Calceo humanitatis nostrae calcata fuit Verbi Majestas*). The latchet of course is taken to signify the bond of union between the two natures. The same mystical interpretation of the Baptist's words is found with several others of the Fathers as, for instance, with SS. Gregory and Jerome on Mark i. 7, and with Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, l. v. c. viii. Cf. A Lapide, *Comment. Matth.* i. 11.—(Translator.)

leavened to form one and the same loaf of bread (Matt. xiii. 33), may be understood not unreasonably as illustrating the union of the three substances in Christ. Oh, how well has Mary mixed and leavened these, since even when the Soul was separated from the Body neither was parted from the Word! This union remained inviolate in the separation caused by death.* For the connection existing between the three elements could not be broken by the division which "hath happened in part" (Rom. ii. 25). It did not matter whether two of these elements were united to or separated from each other: the hypostatic union continued equally in all three. Even after the death of the Man, the Word, the Soul, and the Body continued nevertheless to be one Person, one Christ.† It was in the Virgin's womb, as it seems to me, that this mingling and leavening of the three substances took place, and she was the woman who mingled and leavened them. And perhaps I should not be far wrong were I to say that her faith was the leaven she used. Truly blessed is she that believed, because those things have been accomplished that were spoken to her by the Lord (Luke i. 45). But they would not have been perfectly accomplished, unless, according to the word of the

* Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. q. vi. a. 1; q. 1. a. 2.

† Although death dissolved the substantial union between the Soul and Body of Christ, each remained hypostatically united to the Divinity and continued to subsist by the Person of the Word. Consequently, in death as in life, the three Substances, Body, Soul, and Divinity, as subsisting by the same hypostasis, remained one Person, one Christ. Some eminent theologians, such as Peter Lombard (the Master of the Sentences) and Hugh of St. Victor, have held that Christ continued to be a man during the triduum when His Soul and Body were separated; but St. Thomas (*Sum. Theol.*, III. q. 1. a. 4) pronounces this opinion erroneous.—(Translator.)

Lord, "the whole was leavened" (Matt. xiii. 33), and leavened for all time, so as to preserve for us, as well in death as in life, without division or diminution, without any divorce between the Human Nature in Him and the Divine, "the one Mediator of God and men, the Man Christ Jesus."

Thou mayest notice in this most excellent mystery a threefold distinction of degree, very wonderful and beautiful, which corresponds to the three measures of the Gospel parable. For we find in it something that is new, something that is old, something also that is eternal. The something new is the Soul Which, as we know, was created out of nothing at the moment of Its infusion into the Body. The something old is the Flesh Which, as thou art aware, was derived from the flesh of Adam, the first of men. The something eternal is the Word Whom, as indubitable faith teaches us, the Father hath begotten from eternity co-eternal with Himself. And in this same mystery, if thou considerest it carefully, thou shalt discover three manifestations of divine power. For it shall reveal to thee something that has been made from nothing, and something that has been made new from old, and something that from reprobate and dead has been made eternal and blissful. But it may be asked what has this to do with our salvation? "Much in every way" (Rom. iii. 2). For the manifestations I speak of belong to ourselves. In the first place, it is through the mystery of the Incarnation that, after being reduced to nothingness by sin, we have been in a manner created anew, so "that we might be some beginning of His creature" (James i. 18). In the second place, it is by its means that we have been

“ delivered from the old servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God ” (Rom. viii. 21) and now “ walk in newness of spirit ” (Rom. vi. 4 ; vii. 6). We owe to it, thirdly, that we have been called “ from the power of darkness ” (Col. i. 13) into the kingdom of immortal glory, and made to sit there even now in Jesus Christ (Ephes. ii. 16). Let us keep far away from those who endeavour to alienate from us the Flesh of Christ, impiously asserting that It was created new in the womb of the Virgin, and not assumed from the Virgin’s flesh. Long before this doctrine, rather say this blasphemy, had been enunciated by the wicked, it was beautifully rebutted by the prophetic Spirit in the words, “ There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root ” (Is. xi. 1). The Prophet might have said, “ and a flower shall rise up out of the rod,” but he preferred the other expression, “ a flower shall rise up out of his root,” because he wished to make it plain that the flower and the rod derived their origin from the same source. Consequently, the Flesh of Christ and that of Mary had the one origin, and That was not newly created in the Virgin Which sprang from the same root as herself.

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT GOD IS TO HIS ELECT.

Perhaps I shall only provoke thee to impatience if I still continue to inquire what is God? both because thou hast heard me asking that question so often

already,* and also because thou despairest of hearing it answered satisfactorily. But allow me tell thee, Holy Father, that God and God alone can never be sought in vain ; not even then is He sought in vain when we are unable to find Him. Thine own experience shall furnish thee with evidence of this ; but if not, believe one who can speak from experience—I do not mean myself, but the Prophet Jeremias, who says, “ The Lord is good to them that hope in Him, to the soul that seeketh Him ” (Jerem., Lament. iii. 25). What then is God ? With regard to the universe, He is its ultimate end ; with regard to His elect, He is their salvation ; but as to what He is to Himself, He alone knows that.

What is God ? Omnipotent Will, Benevolent Power, Eternal Light, Immutable Reason, Sovereign Beatitude, He Who creates finite minds to participate in His bliss, Who quickens their sensibility so that they may feel Him, Who attracts their wills so that they may desire Him, Who expands their hearts so that they may have room to contain Him, Who justifies them so that they may merit Him, Who inflames them with zeal for His glory, Who fertilises them to make them bear fruit, Who directs them in the paths of equity, Who forms them to benevolence, Who causes them to walk in the ways of wisdom, Who strengthens them in virtue, visits them in consolation, enlightens them with the knowledge of truth, preserves them unto everlasting life,

* We read of St. Thomas that, when a child at the monastic school of Monte Cassino, he used to bother his masters by constantly asking the question, “ What is God ? ” It is not impossible that this query was borrowed from St. Bernard, whose works were then universally read and may have been used as text-books by the students of Monte Cassino.—(Translator.)

fills them with happiness, surrounds them with peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

WHAT GOD IS TO THE REPROBATE.

What is God ? Not less the punishment of the perverse than the glory of the humble. For He is the living and intelligent Rule of equity, inflexible and inevitable, because reaching everywhere, to Which no wickedness can oppose itself without being confounded. And how can it be but that everything inflated and everything distorted shall impinge upon It and be broken ? But woe to whatever stands in the way of this Rectitude, Which knows not how to yield, because It is also Fortitude ! What can be so opposed, so contrary to the perverted will as to be always straining, always struggling against the Divine Will, and always in vain ? Woe to such rebellious wills, for the only fruit of their strivings is the penalty of their opposition ! What misery can be greater than to be for ever desiring that which shall never be ? What doom can be more horrible than that of a will subject to such a necessity of loving and hating that it can no longer either love or hate anything otherwise than perversely, or without as much misery as malice ? * For ever it

* " A will obstinate in malice can never tend to anything but evil. Now the reprobate, both demons and men, are obstinate in malice. Consequently, their wills can never be good " (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. Supplem., q. xcvi. a. 1). " What sort of a life will the life in hell be after the resurrection ? It will be a life where every act is the most hateful and abominable wickedness. . . . Every thought we think, every word we speak, every action we perform, we shall be committing sin, and committing it with a guilty shame and terror which will be insupportable " (Faber, *Conferences*, p. 390).—(Translator.)

shall be denied what it covets, and what it hates it shall for ever endure. And surely it is just that the will for which nothing good and holy has ever any attraction should never attain to the object of its desires. By whom has this been brought about? By our righteous Lord and God Who "with the perverse will be perverted" (Ps. xvii. 27).^{*} There can never be any concord between the will that is perverse and the Will That is all-righteous. These two must be always at variance with one another, although they cannot hurt one another. Only one of the two can suffer hurt and it would be blasphemous to believe this one to be the Will of God. Hence to Saul it was said, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad" (Acts ix. 5); hard, take notice, not for the goad but for him who kicked against the goad.

God is likewise the punishment of the unclean. For God is light. And what is so unwelcome as light to impure and degraded souls? Therefore is it written, "Everyone that doth evil hateth the light" (John iii. 20). But I ask: can they not hide themselves from its rays? No, that is impossible. For the light shines everywhere, albeit not for all. It shines in darkness and the darkness does not comprehend it (John i. 5). The light beholds the darkness, because for it to shine is to see; but it is not beheld by the darkness, since the darkness comprehends it not. The impure, therefore, are seen that they may be confounded, and

^{*} This verse is thus paraphrased by Bellarmin: "To him that is not merciful, Thou wilt show no mercy, he that hurts shall be hurt by Thee, and he that supplants shall be supplanted, that is to say, wisely overreached by Thee." He remarks, however, that the Hebrew word which is translated 'perverted' rather signifies 'opposed.'—(Translator.)

are prevented from seeing lest they should be consoled. Not only are they seen *by* the light, but they are also seen *in* the light. By whom dost thou ask ? By all who have eyes to see, so that their confusion may be the greater in proportion to the number of beholders. But amongst such a countless multitude of spectators, there is no gaze more troublesome to them than his own is to each : there is no eye either in heaven or on earth which the darksome conscience is more anxious and less able to avoid than its own. For not even from itself can the darkness be concealed. They see themselves who cannot see aught besides. The works of darkness follow them, from which there is no place of concealment, not even in the very darkness itself. This is the worm that " dieth not " (Mark ix. 43), the memory of the past. Once this worm is admitted, I should rather say once it is engendered in the conscience by unrepented sin, it clings there tenaciously and can never more be removed. It gnaws without ceasing the conscience where it dwells, and nourished with this inexhaustible food, it lives on for ever. I shudder with fear whenever I think of this gnawing worm, of this life in death. The very thought of falling into the hands of this living death or dying life overpowers me with horror.

Such is the " second death " (Apoc. ii. 11), the death of the reprobate, which, although it is for ever killing them, never deprives them of life. Oh, who will grant them to die once and for all, so that they may not have to endure the eternal death ! They that " say to the mountains : fall upon us, and to the hills : cover us " (Luke xxiii. 30), what do they ask but the benefit of an utter death whereby to end or escape from the

living death? But it is written, "They shall desire to die, and death shall fly from them" (Apoc. ix. 6). Let us examine this more minutely. Consider then that the soul is most certainly immortal and shall never exist without her faculty of memory, for otherwise she would cease to be the soul.* Consequently, as long as the soul survives, so long shall the memory, too, survive. But in what state in the case of the damned? Defiled with deeds of shame, rendered horrible by criminal actions, swollen with vanity, squalid and grown wild as a field which, through contempt, has been left uncultivated. For although "the former things are passed away" (Apoc. xxi. 4) in one sense, they are not passed away in another. They have passed away out of sight, yet not out of memory. What has been done is done and can never be undone. Therefore although the *doing of it* occupied only a little time, the *having done it* shall endure for ever.† That which transcends all

* This does not necessarily imply the view held by certain psychologists, that the soul is identical with the faculties. For even according to the more common teaching, which represents the faculties as really distinct properties, it might also be said that the soul cannot exist without her memory. There is question, of course, of the intellectual memory which does not differ from the intellect. Now, according to some a spiritual substance devoid of intellect would have no *raison d'être*: its existence would be a contradiction, impossible to God even by His absolute power; whilst all scholastics hold that a spirit could not exist *naturally* without its faculties. Nevertheless, it seems more probable that St. Bernard follows St. Augustine in subscribing the identity view. Cf. De Wulf, *Hist. of Med. Phil.*, p. 94; but cf. also St. Thomas, I, q. lxxvii. a. 1 -- (Translator.)

† On these words the great Bourdaloue comments as follows in his Sermon on the Pains of Hell: "One of the greatest punishments of hell will be to have committed sin, and to have been defiled with crimes in the course of life. But these crimes will no longer exist? True, replies the holy Father, they will no longer exist in the reality of their being, but they will still exist in thought and remembrance. Now it is in remembrance and thought that the soul reprobated by God shall suffer.

time does not pass away with time. Consequently, the crimes which the lost shall eternally remember to have committed must be for them eternally the cause of torment. Thus shall they see verified by experience the truth of what is written, "I will reprove thee and set before thy face" (Ps. xlix. 21). These are the words of the Lord, to Whom no one can be opposed without being also set at variance with himself, so that he shall have—even though late—to cry out, "O Keeper of men, why hast Thou set me opposite to Thee, and I am become burdensome to myself" (Job vii. 20)? So in truth it is, Eugenius. It is impossible for any man to be at peace with himself whilst he is at enmity with God, and he that is reproved by God shall also be reproved by himself. This is more particularly true of the future life, when the reason

The crimes will exist no longer, but they will *have had* existence. Neither will it be in the power of the sinner or of any other to hinder them from having had existence. Now they will not torment, either on earth or in hell, but because they *have* existed; and therefore they torment when their existence ceases: or rather they do not begin to torment before their existence ceases. And as *not to be* and *to have been* are two infinite terms, terms which will equal the eternity of God, and will subsist according to their manner of subsisting while God is God, those crimes which have been and are now no more, will have, if I may venture the expression, an eternal activity in hell to torment the damned soul. . . . Observe what happens to a choleric man, when in the heat of passion he imbrues his hands in his neighbour's blood. Scarce has he given him the death wound when he is disturbed in mind and disordered in his senses. His peace is flown and his reason almost lost. What would he not do, what would he not give, what would he not suffer, to have still in his power not to perpetrate what he has now perpetrated and what he shall never be able to repair? Now this is but a shadow and figure of hell. Inasmuch as to have sinned implies something eternal, the torment, by a just though dreadful sentence, shall also be eternal; and the soul shall be unhappy without end or intermission because it was for a moment culpable."—(Translator.)

can no longer shut its eyes to the truth, and the soul, disencumbered of these bodily members and wholly concentrated in herself, shall be unable to avoid the gaze of reason. How indeed shall this be possible to her when death shall have paralysed and sealed up the sensitive faculties through which she is now accustomed to issue forth to gratify her curiosity, and, leaving herself, to go out into the world the fashion whereof passeth away (1 Cor. vii. 32)? Seest thou not that nothing shall be wanting to the confusion of the unclean, since they shall be exposed and made a spectacle to the eyes of God, of the holy angels, of men, and of themselves? Oh, in what a horrible position all the reprobate shall find themselves, opposed as they shall be to the mighty torrent of inflexible Justice, exposed to the light of naked Truth! Is it not manifest that they must be everlastingly crushed, everlastingly confounded? Hence we read in the Prophet, "Bring upon them the day of affliction, and with a double destruction destroy them, O Lord our God" (Jer. xvii. 18).

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE LENGTH AND BREADTH AND HEIGHT AND DEPTH OF GOD.

What is God? Length and Breadth and Height and Depth. "What is this?" thou wilt say, "Am I to regard thee now as a defender of the quaternity which awhile ago thou didst seem to repudiate?" By no means. I have repudiated and do still repudiate that quaternity. It is true, I have here employed many

words, yet the Object to Which they refer is but one. I have designated the one God according to our mode of conceiving Him, not as He is in Himself. For such distinctions or divisions belong to Him, not as He exists in His own Nature, but only as He is the Object of human thought. Therefore although the words are many and the ways of seeking many, one is the Object expressed by the words and one is the Object sought. Hence the quaternity of names given above does not signify any divisions of the Divine Substance, or any physical dimensions such as we see in bodies, or personal distinctions such as we adore in the Trinity, or number of properties such as we acknowledge to belong to the Persons, although not really distinct from the Persons. For of these four, namely, Length and Breadth and Height and Depth, each separately is in God what all taken together are, and all taken together are no more than what each is separately. But with regard to us, because our manner of intellection cannot perfectly represent the divine simplicity, whilst we endeavour to conceive God as one, He manifests Himself to our mind as fourfold. This multiplicity is due to the intervention of that glass through which alone we are allowed to see Him "in a dark manner" (1 Cor. xiii. 12) so long as we live here below. But when it shall be given us to see Him face to face, we shall then see Him as He is. Nor need we be afraid that the gaze of the soul, now so delicate, shall be in any degree dazzled by the brightness and dissolved, so to speak, into its former multiplicity,* no matter how forcibly applied. On the contrary, it will collect and concen-

* That is, be obliged to represent the Divinity by a multitude of inadequate concepts, as in the present life.—(Translator.)

trate all its energies, and thus conform itself to the unity of its Object, or rather to the Unity Which is its Object ; so that the face gazing shall be as single as the Face gazed upon. In this way shall be verified the words of the Evangelist, " We shall be like to Him because we shall see Him as He is " (1 John iii. 2). Happy vision, for which he sighed—and with good reason—who said, " My face hath sought Thee : Thy Face, O Lord, will I still seek " (Ps. xxvi. 8). In the meantime, as the seeking is not yet ended, let us make use of our four-horse chariot (for we are weak and frail and in want of such a vehicle) if haply we may even so apprehend that in which we have been apprehended, that, namely, which is signified by the chariot itself. For to this we have been exhorted by the driver of the chariot—I mean him by whom this chariot was first exhibited—namely, that we should endeavour "to comprehend * with all the saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth " (Ephes. iii. 18). Notice how he tells us not simply *to know* but to *comprehend*, so that we should not rest content with the knowledge which gratifies curiosity, but should strive with all diligence to render our knowledge fruitful. The fruit of knowledge consists in the comprehension of its object, not in the mere knowing. For " to him who knoweth to do good and doth it not, that is, comprehends not the good he knoweth, to him it is sin " (James iv. 17). And St. Paul himself says in another place, " So run that you may comprehend " (1 Cor.

* It will be evident that in order to get the Saint's drift the word 'comprehend' must be understood here and in what follows in its primary signification, as meaning to lay firm hold of, or to attain.—(Translator.)

ix. 24). But what is it to comprehend? This I shall try to explain in the following chapter.

What, therefore, is God? I answer: He is Length. And what is that? It is Eternity. So long is eternity that it has no limits at all, either in space or in time. God is likewise Breadth. Askest thou me what Breadth is? It is Charity. This also is confined by no limits in God Who loveth all things that are, and hateth none of the things which He hath made (Wisd. xi. 25). For "He maketh His sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust" (Matt. v. 45). Therefore even His enemies are enclosed within the bosom of His charity. Nor is it satisfied even with this, for it extends itself to infinity, transcending not alone every finite power of affection, but also every created faculty of thought. Hence the Apostle, after bidding us "to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth," tells us "to know also the charity of Christ which surpasseth all knowledge" (Ephes. iii. 18 19). What more shall I say concerning this charity? It is eternal: or rather—what perhaps is something still greater—it is eternity itself. Seest thou not that the Breadth of God is as great as His Length? I wish thou couldst also understand this: that the Breadth of God is not only equal to, but is identical with His Length: that the one is absolutely the same as the other, and that either of the two is not less than both together or both together greater than either. God is Eternity, God is also Charity: He is Length and He is Breadth, but in both is independent of all spatial relations, in both transcends the narrow limits of place and time, not, however, by magnitude of

bulk but by the liberty of His spiritual Nature. In this way He Who has made all things in measure (Wisd. xi. 21) is Himself without measure; and although He is unmeasured in Himself, we have here, nevertheless, the mode or measure (so to speak) even of His immensity.

Once more: What is God? He is Height and He is Depth. As Height, He is above all things; as Depth, He is beneath all. It is evident that amongst the divine attributes there exists the most perfect equality, firmly established on all sides, and persevering immutably the same. By Height, we are to understand the divine power; by Depth, the divine wisdom. Between these two also there is a relation of correspondence similar to that between Length and Breadth; for we know that the Height is as inaccessible as the Depth is unfathomable, St. Paul bearing witness to this where he utters that cry of wonder and admiration, "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways!" (Rom. xi. 33). And we ourselves also, seeing, although but dimly, the most absolute unity of these perfections in God and with God, may cry out like the Apostle, and say, "O Wisdom all-powerful, 'reaching from end to end' mightily! O Power all-wise, 'disposing all things sweetly' " (Wisdom viii. 1). The Thing is one in Itself, but It is manifold in Its effects, multiform in Its operations. And this one Thing is Length because of Its eternity, Breadth because of Its charity, Height because of Its majesty, Depth because of Its wisdom.*

* St. Thomas understands by Breadth the Divine Omnipotence, but otherwise his exposition of Ephes. iii. 18 agrees with St. Bernard's.—(Translator.)

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THE LENGTH AND BREADTH
AND HEIGHT AND DEPTH OF GOD CAN BE COM-
PREHENDED.

These things are known to us. But are we therefore to believe that we also comprehend them? Surely not. It is by sanctity of life, not by discourse of reason, that we must attain to a comprehension of the things of God : if yet it is possible in any sense to comprehend the incomprehensible. But unless this were in some sense possible, the Apostle would not have said, " That you may be able to comprehend with all the saints." For his words imply that the saints have arrived at comprehension. In what way, dost thou ask? If thou art a saint, thou also hast arrived at this and knowest the way. If thou art not a saint, make thyself one, and so thou shalt know by the experience. A man is made a saint by two holy affections, the holy fear and the holy love of the Lord. The soul that possesses these virtues in their perfection can employ them as two arms to comprehend God, to embrace Him, to draw Him close to herself, and to hold Him fast, so that she can say with the Spouse in the Canticle, " I held Him and I will not let Him go" (Cant. iii. 4). Holy fear corresponds to Height and Depth, holy love to Length and Breadth. What is there so terrible as that Power Which thou canst not resist? as that Wisdom from Which thou canst nowhere conceal thyself? It would not be necessary to fear God so much if either power or wisdom were wanting to Him. As the case is, however, thou must stand in

supreme awe of that Being Whose eye nothing escapes and Whose arm is omnipotent. On the other hand, what is so amiable as Love Itself by Which thou lovest and by Which thou art loved (*Amor ipse quo amas et quo amaris*) ? * Nevertheless, It is rendered still more amiable by Its union with eternity, because as It “never falleth away” (1 Cor. xiii. 8) It “casteth out fear” and all suspicion (1 John iv. 18). Therefore, love with constancy and perseverance and thou hast attained to Length ; widen thy love so that it may embrace even thine enemies, and thou hast reached Breadth ; walk in fear and with all wariness and thou hast comprehended Height and Depth.

But if thou preferrest to correspond to these four attributes of the Deity by four sentiments of thine own, thou mayest do so by admiration, by fear, by fervour, and by constancy. Admirable in truth is the loftiness of the Divine Majesty, and fearful the abyss of the divine judgments. The charity of God obliges thee to fervour, whilst His eternity calls for constancy and perseverance. What is so well calculated to excite our admiration as the contemplation of the glory of God ? What can so inspire us with fear as to ponder on the profound depths of His wisdom ? What can so inflame us with love as the consideration of His charity ? What can so ensure our constancy and perseverance in loving as the desire to emulate the eternity

* This must not be understood as implying that our supernatural love for God is identical with His love for us, and consequently with Himself—a position maintained by Peter Lombard (Sent., l. i., d. xvii.), who says that charity is nothing distinct from the Holy Ghost. St. Bernard only means that we love God by God’s own love in the sense that our love for Him is a pure gift of His love for us. Thus he says, *De dilig. Deo*, xii. “Charity communicates charity : the substantial, the accidental.”—(Translator).

of His love? Perseverance is an image (so to speak) of eternity. It is the only virtue by which eternity can be merited, or rather it is the only virtue which can bring men to a happy eternity, according to the words of the Lord, "He that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. x. 22).

Observe now that to these four attributes of God, there correspond as many different kinds of contemplation. The first and loftiest contemplation is admiration of the Divine Majesty.* This requires a purified soul, which, as being free from vices and unburdened of sin, it may easily lift up to things supernal, yea, and sometimes hold suspended—even though but for a short space—in a very transport and ecstasy of delighted wonder. Indispensable to this first kind of contemplation is the second, which has its gaze fixed upon the judgments of God. For whilst it grievously troubles the soul by this most terrifying prospect, it extinguishes vices, implants virtues, leads the way to wisdom, preserves humility. Now humility is the true and firm foundation of all the virtues, and the result of its shaking would be the ruin of the whole spiritual edifice. The third species of contemplation occupies itself, or rather takes its repose, in the memory of the divine benefits; and, lest we should remain ungrateful, it not only represents to our minds the favours we have received, but also inspires us with love for our

* Commenting on these words, St. Thomas writes:—"Admiration is a species of fear excited in the mind by the apprehension of some object which exceeds its capacity. Hence it is an act consequent upon the contemplation of sublime truth. And it has been already remarked that contemplation terminates in an affection of the will" (*Sum. Theol.*, II. 11, q. clxxx. a. 3). And he contends (a. 4) that St. Bernard is with him in regarding contemplation as essentially an act, not of the will, but of the intellect.—(Translator.)

Benefactor. It is of souls devoted to this that the Psalmist says, "They shall publish the memory of the abundance of Thy sweetness" (Ps. cxliv. 7). The fourth kind, "forgetting the things that are behind" (Philipp. iii. 13), rests only in the expectation of the promises; and as this is nothing else but a meditation on eternity—inasmuch as the things promised are eternal—it at the same time nourishes patience and gives us the strength required for perseverance. It is now easy, as I think, to correlate these four kinds of contemplation with the four attributes mentioned by the Apostle: for by meditation on the promises we attain to Length, by recollection of the divine benefits we comprehend Breadth; the contemplation of God's Majesty brings us to Height, and we reach Depth by pondering His judgments.

We must still go on seeking Him Who has not yet been sufficiently found and Who can never be too much sought. But perhaps it will be more becoming to seek Him, yea, and more easy to find Him, by fervent prayer than by argumentation. Therefore let me now put an end to the book, although not to the seeking.

APPENDIX

LETTER CCXXXVII. OF ST. BERNARD, ADDRESSED TO
THE WHOLE ROMAN CURIA IN THE YEAR 1145, IM-
MEDIATELY AFTER THE ELECTION OF POPE EUGENIUS.

Health to my Lords and Reverend Fathers, all the Cardinals and Bishops of the Curia, from the servant of your sanctity, Bernard.

May God forgive you, what have you done? You have brought back amongst men a man that was dead and buried! A man that had fled from cares and crowds you have again encompassed with cares and crowds! You have made the last first, and behold, the last state of that man is more perilous than the first (Matt. xii. 45)! One that was crucified to the world you have caused to live again to the world, and you have elected to be lord of all him who had chosen to be an abject in the house of his God (Ps. lxxxiii. 11)! Why have you "confounded the counsel of the poor man" (Ps. xiii. 6)? Wherefore have you frustrated the design of the needy and the contrite of heart? He was running well: why has it seemed good to you to fence up his ways, to turn aside his paths, to entangle his feet? As if he had been going down from Jerusalem, instead of going up from Jericho, so has he fallen amongst robbers (Luke x. 30). And he who had powerfully broken free from the devil's mighty clutches, from the allurements of the flesh and the glory of this world, has not been able to escape your hands. Was it in order to obtain Rome that he

abandoned Pisa? Is it likely that he who found the office of vicar-general of a particular church too heavy a burden, was anxious to be made ruler over the universal Church? *

By what wisdom, therefore, or by what counsel were you influenced, when, after the death of the late Pontiff, you suddenly rushed upon a simple rustic, laid violent hands on one who had elected to live a hidden life, and after wresting from his grasp the axe, the mattock, or the hoe, dragged him away to the palace, set him upon the throne, clothed him in purple † and fine linen, girded him with the sword, in order that he might be able to "execute vengeance upon the nations, chastisements among the people, to bind their kings with fetters and their nobles with manacles of iron" (Ps. cxlix. 7, 8)? "Is it so that there was not among you any one wise man" (1 Cor. vi. 5) and experienced, whom you might have more fittingly chosen for such honours? It surely seems a ridiculous thing that a poor miserably-clad monk has been elected to preside over princes, to govern the bishops, to dispose of empires and kingdoms. But ought we to call it ridiculous and not rather miraculous! It must certainly be described as one or the other. For my part, I do not deny, I do not even doubt that it has been the work of God "Who alone doth great wonders" (Ps. cxxxv. 4), especially as I am informed by many that they look upon this election as plainly providential. Nor have I forgotten the ancient judgments of the Lord, and the numerous instances recorded in Holy

* Eugenius had been vicar-general of Pisa before he became a monk at Clairvaux.—(Translator.)

† At that time the Roman Pontiffs used to wear a red cope.—(Translator.)

Scripture of men who were raised up by the will of God from an obscure and even a rustic life to govern His chosen people. Was it not in this way—to quote one example out of many—that “He chose His servant David, and took him from the flocks of sheep, brought him from following the ewes great with young” (Ps. lxxvii. 70)? Thus, thus, I say, that which has happened to my Eugenius may have also been but the accomplishment of a particular purpose of the divine good pleasure.

Nevertheless, I am far from feeling secure about him, for this “my son is young and tender” (1 Par. xxii. 5) and extremely shy, more accustomed to quiet and contemplative repose than to the management of external affairs. Hence it is to be feared that he will not show sufficient firmness in the discharge of his pontifical duties. What, think you, are now the feelings of him who sees himself torn from the secret delights of spiritual contemplation and from the pleasant solitude of the heart—like an infant suddenly taken from its mother’s breast—dragged forth into the public view, and led to unfamiliar and distasteful functions as a sheep to the slaughter? Unless “the Lord putteth His hand under him” (Ps. xxxvi. 24), he shall inevitably be oppressed and crushed beneath the weight of this new and excessive burden, which would appear formidable for the shoulders of a giant (as the saying is), yea, and even for angelic shoulders. However, since that burden has now been laid upon him, and laid upon him by the Lord, as many believe, it is for you, most dear and reverend Fathers, by your ardent zeal and devoted service to support him faithfully in the position to which, through you, he has been raised. Therefore

“ if there be any consolation in you, if any comfort of charity in the Lord, if any bowels of commiseration ” (Philipp. ii. 1), assist him and co-operate with him in the work to which, through you, he has been appointed by the Lord. “ Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are modest, whatsoever just, whatsoever holy, whatsoever lovely, whatsoever of good fame ” (Philipp. iv. 8), remind him of these things, exhort him to these things, give him an example of these things “ and the God of peace shall be with you ” (2 Cor. xiii. 11).

LETTER CCXXXVIII. ADDRESSED TO POPE EUGENIUS
AFTER HIS ELEVATION TO THE PONTIFICAL
THRONE.

To his most dearly beloved Father and Lord, Eugenius, by the grace of God Sovereign Pontiff, Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, presents his humble service.

The tidings of the great things which the Lord has done for thee “ hath been heard in our land ” (Cant. ii. 12) and universally discussed. But I have until now deferred to write, considering the matter in silent reflection. For I was expecting to receive a letter from thee, and by thee to be “ prevented with the blessings of sweetness ” (Ps. xx. 4). I was looking out for the arrival of a faithful messenger sent from thy side to tell me everything in order : what has been done, by what means it has been done, and in what manner. I was waiting to see if perchance any of my children would return to soothe his father’s sorrow and to say to him, “ Joseph, thy son is living, and he is ruler

over all the land of Egypt " (Gen. xlv. 26). So that if I am writing even now, it is not of my own will but from necessity, compelled to it by the entreaties of my friends, to whom I cannot refuse any service in my power during the short span of life that still remains to me. For now " my days are shortened and only the grave remaineth for me " (Job xvii. 1). Nevertheless, " seeing I have once begun, I will speak to my lord " (Gen. xviii. 27). I no longer dare to call him my son, because the son has been made the father and the father has been made the son. He who came after me, " the same is preferred before me " (John i. 27). However, I do not envy him, because that which was wanting to myself, I now possess (as I trust) in him, who came not only after me, but through me as well. For if thou wilt allow me to say so, I have in a manner " begotten thee by the Gospel " (1 Cor. iv. 15). " What (therefore) is our hope, or joy, or crown of glory ? " (1 Thess. ii. 19). Art not thou before God ? For so it is written, " A wise son is the glory of his father " (Prov. x. 1). Yet thou shalt no more be called son, but " thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord hath named " (Is. lxii. 2). " This is the change of the right hand of the Most High " (Ps. lxxvi. 11), and many shall rejoice thereat. For just as of old Abram was changed to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5), and Jacob to Israel (Gen. xxxii. 28) ; and to present thee with examples from amongst thine own predecessors—just as Simon was changed to Cephas (John i. 42), and Saul to Paul (Acts xiii. 9), in the same way has my son Bernard been changed into my father Eugenius, by what I hope is a joyous and profitable transformation. " This is the finger of God " (Exod. viii. 19), Who " raiseth

up the needy from the dust, and lifteth up the poor out of the dunghill, that he may sit with princes and hold the throne of glory" (1 Kings ii. 8; Ps. cxii. 7, 8).

It remains now that, after this change in thyself, she also who has been committed to thy care, I mean the Spouse of thy Lord, should be changed for the better, so that she may not any more be called Sarai, but Sara (Gen. xvii. 15). Understand aright what I say, for the Lord will give thee understanding. If thou art indeed the friend of the Bridegroom, take care not to call His Beloved "*my* Lady," i.e., Sarai, but simply "Lady," i.e., Sara. For thou must not regard her as in any sense thine own, although thou shouldst be ready, if need be, to lay down even thy life for her. If thou hast been truly sent by Christ, thou wilt consider thyself to have come not to be ministered unto but to minister (Matt. xx. 28), and to minister not only thy substance, but even thy very life, as I have said. The true successor of Paul will say with Paul, "Not because we exercise dominion over your faith: but we are helpers of your joy" (2 Cor. i. 23). And Peter's heir will listen to Peter's voice where he says, "Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock" (1 Peter v. 3). For thus, she—the Spouse—being no longer a bondmaid, but free now and even beautiful, shall at last be admitted through thee to the coveted embraces of her beautiful Bridegroom. But if thou also, who hast been taught long ago not to look upon even thyself as belonging to thee, to say nothing of thy goods, if thou also (which God forbid) shouldst begin to seek in the inheritance of Christ the things that are thine

own (Philipp. ii. 21) : through whom else may she hope to obtain the liberty so justly due to her ?

Therefore, as having more confidence in thee than she seems to have placed in any of thy predecessors for a long time past, the universal Church of the saints, but especially that church which bore thee in her womb and suckled thee at her breast, justly rejoices at thy elevation and glories in the Lord. What then ? May not I also rejoice with them that rejoice ? Shall not I be one of the number who have been made glad by thy promotion ? I have indeed rejoiced—I confess it—but with trembling (Ps. ii. 11). I have exulted, but in the very hour of my exultation, “ fear and trembling have come upon me ” (Ps. liv. 6). For although I have lost the name of father, I have not lost a father’s fear or a father’s anxiety ; I have not lost a father’s affection or a father’s heart. I consider the eminence upon which thou art exalted, and I am afraid of a fall. I consider the height of thy dignity, and I look upon the mouth of the abyss that yawns below. I think of the sublimity of honour to which thou hast attained, and the danger so near thee makes me tremble. For it is written, “ Man when he was in honour did not understand ” (Ps. xlviii. 21), which I take to mean, not that man’s failure to understand merely synchronised with his being honoured, but that the former was truly the effect of the latter ; so that the words “ Man when he was in honour did not understand ” should be understood as equivalent to these, “ Honour destroyed the understanding of man.”

And indeed thou hadst chosen to be an abject in the house of thy God (Ps. lxxxiii. 11) and to sit down in the lowest place at the wedding-feast ; but it has pleased

Him Who invited thee to say, " Friend, go up higher " (Luke xiv. 10). Accordingly, thou hast ascended on high. Nevertheless, " be not high-minded, but fear " (Rom. xi. 20) ; lest perhaps thou shouldst otherwise be compelled to give utterance, all too late, to that pitiful cry of the Prophet, " Because of Thy anger and indignation, having lifted me up Thou hast thrown me down " (Ps. ci. 11). For thou hast obtained a higher place indeed, but not a safer ; a more sublime, yet not a more secure. Terrible undoubtedly, " terrible is this place " (Gen. xxviii. 17). " The place whereon thou standest is holy ground " (Exod. iii. 5). For it is the place of Peter, the place of the Prince of the apostles " the place where his feet have stood " (Ps. cxxxi. 7). It is the place of him whom the Lord " hath made master of His house and ruler of all His possession " (Ps. civ. 21). And his bones are buried in the same place to bear witness against thee shouldst thou ever by chance turn aside from the ways of the Lord. Deservedly was the Church, whilst still young and tender, whilst still in her infancy, committed to the care of such a shepherd, of such a guardian, by whose instruction and example she was taught and trained to trample under her foot the things of this world. For he was one who had " shaken his hands (free) from all bribes " (Is. xxxiii. 15), and who could therefore say from his heart and with a good conscience, " Silver and gold I have none " (Acts iii. 6). So much for this.

But let me now explain the reason why I am writing to thee before the time. The bishop of Winchester and the archbishop of York * do not walk in one spirit with the archbishop of Canterbury, but are rather

* Cf. note at page 93.

opposed to him : for there is between them a quarrel of long standing with regard to the legatine office. But who is he and who are they ? Was it not the archbishop of York whom, in thine own presence, when as yet thou wert as one of us, thy brethren " withstood to the face, because he was to be blamed " (Gal. ii. 11) ? " But he trusted in the abundance of his riches and prevailed in his vanity " (Ps. li. 9). There can be no doubt, however, that " he entered not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbed up another way " (John x. 1). Were he the shepherd, he should be loved ; were he nothing worse than a mercenary, he should be borne with. But as the case is, he must be disowned and repelled as a thief and a robber. What shall I say of the bishop of Winchester ? " The works themselves which he doth give testimony of him " (John v. 36). The archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, to whom these are so much opposed, is a religious man of unblemished character. In his behalf I pray that justice may be done him. As for his enemies, let their iniquity be upon their own heads. Thus shall be accomplished what is written, " The justice of the just shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him " (Ezech. xviii. 20). As soon as the opportunity presents itself, " according to the works of their hands render thou to them " (Ps. xxvii. 4) and " let them know that there is a prophet in Israel " (2 Kings v. 8).

Who will grant me to see before I die the Church of God as it was in the days of its prime, when the apostles were wont to let down their nets for a draught, not of gold and silver, but of immortal souls ! How I wish to see thee inheriting the voice as thou hast inherited the power

and place of him who said to the tempter, "Keep thy money to thyself to perish with thee" (Acts viii. 20)! O "voice of thunder" (Ps. lxvi. 19)! O voice of power and magnificence (Ps. xxviii. 4), by the terror of which they are "all confounded and turned back that hate Sion" (Ps. cxxviii. 4)! This (voice) thy mother eagerly expects and ardently desires of thee; this the children of thy mother,* "both little and great" (Ps. cxlii. 13) are anxiously praying for and longing for, so that "every plant which the Heavenly Father hath not planted may be torn up" † (Matt. xv. 13) by thy hands. For unto this hast thou been "set over the nations and over kingdoms: to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant" (Jer. i. 10). Many on hearing the news of thy election have said to themselves, "Now the axe is laid to the root of the trees" (Matt. iii. 10). Many more have said in their heart, "The flowers have appeared in our land, the time of pruning is come" (Cant. ii. 12), the time, that is, when every unprofitable branch shall be cut away, so that those which are fruitful may yield still more abundant fruit.

Therefore, "take courage and be valiant" (Deut. xxxi. 23). Let "thy hands be upon the necks of thy enemies" (Gen. xlix. 8). Assert thy claim with constancy of mind and vigour of spirit to the portion which the Father Omnipotent "hath given thee above thy brethren, which He took out of the hand of the Amorrite with His sword and bow" (Gen. xlviii. 22). Yet in all thy works remember that thou art but a

* He means the community of Clairvaux.—(Translator.)

† This seems to refer to the deposition of intruded bishops, such as William of York.—(Translator.)

man, and keep ever before thine eyes the fear of Him " Who taketh away the spirit of princes " (Ps. lxxv. 13). How many Roman Pontiffs hast thou not seen with thine own eyes summoned hence to judgment in the space of a few years ! Therefore let the example of thy predecessors remind thee of thine own most certain and speedy dissolution, and let the short duration of their pontificates be a warning to thee that thy reign also shall be short. And amidst the seductions of this transient glory, keep thy last end always in view by means of constant meditation, because thou shalt surely follow to the grave them to whose power thou hast succeeded.

LETTER CCXLIII. WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1146 TO
THE ROMAN PEOPLE WHO HAD FOR THE SECOND
TIME COMPELLED POPE EUGENIUS TO FLEE FROM
THEIR CITY.

To the Nobles, the Principal Citizens, and all the People of Rome, Brother Bernard, called the Abbot of Clairvaux, sends greeting and prays that they may avoid what is evil and do good.

Vile though I am and contemptible, a poor wretch of no consequence at all, I still make bold to address myself to you, renowned and illustrious people. No pleasant task I find it indeed, but burdensome and embarrassing, especially when I consider who I am and to whom I am writing, and in what a different light others may view my present action. But I judge it better to risk being reputed presumptuous by men than to be condemned by God for keeping silence, and for neglecting to speak His truth and to proclaim His

justice. For it is the Lord Who has said, "Shew My people their wicked doings and the house of Jacob their sins" (Is. lviii. 1). And it will be, therefore, a testimony in my favour before His face if I shall be able to say to Him, "I have not hid Thy justice within my heart: I have declared Thy truth and Thy salvation" (Ps. xxxix. 11). For these reasons I do violence to my modesty, and, notwithstanding my meanness, I am not afraid to write from afar to a glorious people, and by this letter from beyond the mountains to admonish the Romans of their danger and of their sin, "if perhaps they will hear and forbear" (Ezech. ii. 7). Who knoweth but that they who have refused to yield to the menaces of the powerful and to the strength of armies will be converted at the prayer of a lowly monk? Did it not happen in Babylon of old that, at the word of a single boy, the whole Jewish people, whose minds had been led astray by impious judges, rehearsed the examination, and were thus preserved in that day from shedding innocent blood? (Daniel xiii.). Therefore, to my words also, although "I am very young and contemptible" (Ps. cxviii. 141)—young, I mean, not in years but in merits—God is able to give "the voice of power" (Ps. lxvii. 34), by which this people, who are manifestly seduced, may be persuaded to return to judgment. This is my apology to such as may feel disposed to be indignant and angry with me for presuming to address you.

But lest this be not enough to excuse me, I will add one other consideration. The cause now in question is one that concerns every Christian, without any distinction of great and small. For even the least and remotest parts of the body cannot but be affected when

there is sickness in the head. Consequently, I also participate in the sufferings of Rome. Yes, beyond a doubt, even to me, who am the last of all, these great sufferings have descended, both because they are so great, and because in afflicting the head they must likewise afflict the body of which I am a member. When the head is sick, does not the tongue, in behalf of all the other members of the body, affirm that it shares in the sufferings of the head? And does not the whole body, speaking by the tongue, acknowledge as its own not only the head, but the ailment of the head also? "Suffer me, therefore, suffer me, I pray you, that I may lament my sorrow a little" (Job x. 20) in your hearing, and not my sorrow only, but the sorrow of the universal Church. Is not her voice heard to-day through the whole world, lamenting and saying, "My head acheth, my head acheth" (4 Kings iv. 19)? Is there any Christian on earth so mean as not to take pride in that Primatial See which Peter and Paul, those glorious princes, ennobled by their triumph and adorned with their blood, the one being beheaded, the other crucified with his head towards the ground? Accordingly, every one of the faithful suffers when injury is done to this Apostolic See, and by consequence, to these holy apostles. For just as "their sound hath gone forth into all the earth" (Ps. xviii. 5), so too is the violence offered to them felt and bemoaned and lamented by all Christians everywhere.

Wherefore, then, O Romans, has it seemed good to you to incur the displeasure of them who have been "made princes over all the earth" (Ps. xliv. 17) and are your own special patrons? Why have you called down upon your heads the vengeance of the King of

the world and the Lord of heaven, whilst, with a fury as execrable as it was irrational, you sacrilegiously assailed and endeavoured to dishonour the Holy and Apostolic See, so singularly exalted with divine and royal prerogatives, which you should rather be ready to defend, if necessary, even against the whole universe? O infatuated people, are you so devoid of judgment and of all sense of propriety as to disgrace—in so far as it depends upon you—your own capital and the capital of the world, whereas you ought to be willing to sacrifice your lives for it, if need be? Your ancestors made the world tributary to Rome, but you have made Rome a scandal to the world. For behold! you have driven out the Heir of Peter from Peter's See and from Peter's city. Behold! the cardinals and bishops, ministers of the Lord, have been despoiled by your hands of their homes and possessions. "O foolish and senseless people!" (Deuter. xxxii. 6). O "dove that has been decoyed, not having a heart" (Osee vii. 11)! Was not the former (viz., the Pope) thy head, and the latter (viz., the cardinals and bishops) thine eyes? What, therefore, is Rome now but as a trunk without a head, as a face bereft of its eyes and enveloped in darkness? Open your eyes, O miserable people, open your eyes, and behold the desolation which is about to befall you. "How is the gold become dim, the finest colour changed?" "How is the mistress of the nations become as a widow, the princess of provinces made tributary?" (Lament. iv. 1; i. 1).

But "all these are the beginnings of sorrows" (Matt. xxiv. 8), and greater, I fear, are the evils yet in store. Shall you not come to speedy destruction, if you continue as you have begun? "Return, return,

O Sulamitess" (Cant. vi. 12), return to thy heart. Realise even at this late hour what, how much, and from whom thou art suffering and hast suffered. Remember in what cause, for what purpose, by whom, and in what ways the ornaments and revenues of all thy churches were pillaged and wasted only a short time since.* Whatever of gold or silver could then be found in the altars, or in the vessels of the altars, or even in the sacred images, was plundered by the hands of the impious and borne away. But of it all, how much dost thou now find in thy coffers? Besides, the glory of the house of God has been ruined beyond repair. And now why has it seemed good to thee to renew the malice and to bring evil days upon thyself once more? What greater gain hast thou now or what surer hope? Rather thou appearest more imprudent in this latter revolt than in the former; because then many, not alone of the people, but even of the clergy, yea, and some of the rulers of the earth supported thee in thy schism; whereas now, as thy hand is against every man, so is every man's hand against thee. All are innocent of thy blood save thyself alone and thy children who are in thee. Therefore, woe to thee, O miserable Rome, and a woe double any that has already befallen thee, not from foreign nations, not from the fury of barbarian hordes, not from mighty armies, but only from thy friends and domestics, from intestine strife, from agony of heart and griping of the bowels. Dost thou not see now that not all who dwell in thee are lovers of thy peace, that not all are thy friends who appear so? Even had I not known it already, I should

* That is, in 1130, by the supporters of the Antipope Anacletus. Cf. Baronius, *Annal. ad hunc annum*.—(Translator.)

now understand clearly from thy case the truth of the words of the Lord, "A man's enemies shall be they of his own household" (Matt. x. 36). Woe to brother from his brothers in the midst of thee! Woe to children from their parents! Woe to thyself, not from hostile armies, but "from wicked lips and a deceitful tongue" (Ps. cxix. 2)!

O wretched Romans, how long will you wickedly encourage one another in wickedness, and slay one another with the sword of the tongue? How long will you persist in this mutual destruction? Come together again, ye scattered sheep, return to your fold, be "converted to the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls" (1 Peter ii. 25). "Return, ye transgressors, to the heart" (Is. xlv. 8). In speaking thus, I do not taunt you as an enemy, but I reprove you as a friend. True friendship will sometimes administer reproof, but can never descend to flattery.

But I will add entreaty to reproof. I beseech you, therefore, for Christ's sake, be reconciled to your princes—I mean Saints Peter and Paul, whom you have banished from their home and See in the person of Eugenius their vicar and successor. Be reconciled, I say, to these princes of the world, lest perhaps the world should begin in their behalf to make war upon you, O ye frenzied people. Are you not aware that when Peter and Paul stand against you you have nothing to hope for, just as when they are propitious you have nothing to fear? No, under their protection you "will not fear thousands of people surrounding you" (Ps. iii. 7) and your illustrious city, the city of the brave. Be reconciled to them, therefore, and to the thousands of holy martyrs who sleep within your walls, but who

are now opposed to you, because of the awful crime you have committed and in which you still persist. Be reconciled also to the whole Church of the saints, which has been scandalised everywhere at the news of your revolt. Otherwise this letter shall bear witness against you. Yea, the apostles and martyrs also "shall stand with great constancy against those that have afflicted them, and taken away their labours" (Wisdom v. 1). I shall now bring my letter to a close. I have told you what your duty is, I have forewarned you of your danger, I have proclaimed the truth, I have exhorted you to amendment. It only remains for me now either to rejoice over your immediate conversion, or to mourn inconsolably in the certain foresight of your just and speedy ruin, "withering away for fear and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world" (Luke xxi. 26).

LETTER CXC. ADDRESSED TO INNOCENT II. IN 1140, IN WHICH ST. BERNARD DEFENDS AGAINST ABELARD CERTAIN POINTS OF DOCTRINE ALSO DISCUSSED IN HIS TREATISE ON CONSIDERATION.

To his most dearly beloved Father and Lord, Pope Innocent, Brother Bernard, called Abbot of Clairvaux, presents his humble respects.

It is to thy Apostolic Chair we must turn, Holy Father, as often as any dangers or scandals arise in the kingdom of God, more particularly in matters which belong to the faith. For it seems to me that errors in doctrine can be nowhere so well corrected as there where the true faith can never be lost. This

is the prerogative of the Roman See. To whom else besides Peter has it ever been said, "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not"? Consequently, on Peter's successors is imposed the duty expressed in the words which follow: "And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren" (Luke xxii. 32). That office is now necessary. The time has come for thee to acknowledge thy primacy, to prove thy zeal, to honour thy ministry. Apply thyself, therefore, to confirm by thy admonitions the hearts of those who are wavering in the faith, and by thy authority to restrain the propagators of error. So shalt thou act the part of him to whose place and power thou hast succeeded.

Here in France we have a new Professor of theology developed from an old Doctor of dialectics, a man who, after having amused himself all his life with the logical art, is beginning now to make wild work with the Holy Scriptures. Certain errors, condemned long since and now almost forgotten, some of them his own and some borrowed, he is endeavouring to revive, and is even adding to them other new ones. There is nothing in the heavens above or on the earth beneath which he does not profess to know, nothing except how to acknowledge his ignorance. He puts his head into heaven (Ps. lxxii. 9) and "searcheth the deep things of God" (1 Cor. ii. 10); returning then to earth he speaks words ineffable "which it is not granted to man to utter" (1 Cor. xii. 4). And as he is ready to render an explanation of all things, even of things beyond the compass of reason, he has the presumption to run counter not only to reason but even to faith itself. For what can be more contrary to reason than

to endeavour to transcend reason by means of reason? And what can be more contrary to faith than to be unwilling to believe whatever reason is unable to establish? Thus, in his exposition of the words of Solomon, "He that is hasty to give credit is light of heart" (Eccli. xix. 4), this new Doctor says, "To give credit hastily is to yield the assent of faith before reason has evidence of the truth in question": whereas Solomon is not speaking here of divine faith at all, but only of that credit which men usually give to each other's assertions. But with regard to faith in God, Pope Gregory, of blessed memory, distinctly affirms that it is altogether devoid of merit when supported by proofs from natural reason* (Hom. xxvi. in Evang.); and he praises the apostles because at the first command of the Redeemer, they left all things and followed Him. For he knew that the words of the psalm, "At the hearing of the ear they have obeyed Me" (Ps. xvii. 45), were spoken in commendation, and that the disciples, on the contrary, were rebuked because they had been slow to believe. Mary also was praised for having by faith anticipated reason (Luke i. 45), whilst Zachary was punished because he sought in reason a support for faith (ibid. 20). And the Apostle commends Abraham "who against hope believed in hope" (Rom. iv. 18).

But this Theologian of ours holds a different view. "Where is the use," he asks, "of giving instruction,

* That is, in so far as such demonstration is made the *motive* of assent. There are many articles of faith capable of being proved by natural reason, v.g., the existence of one God, infinitely perfect, the fact of creation, etc., which are nevertheless meritoriously believed, because our assent to them is *independent of the evidence*.—(Translator.)

if what we desire to communicate cannot be explained in such a manner as to be understood by our hearers ? ” And so, promising to give his audience a demonstration even of the most sacred and sublime truths contained within the deep bosom of our holy faith, he has discovered degrees in the Trinity of God, measure in the Majesty of God, number in the Eternity of God ! For he teaches that God the Father is the fulness of power, God the Son a certain kind of power, and that God the Holy Ghost is no power at all. According to him, the Son stands in the same relation to the Father as a *kind of power* to power simply, as a species to a genus, as informed matter to matter indeterminate, as man to animal, as a copper seal to copper in general. Is not this going farther than Arius himself ? Who can tolerate such blasphemy ? Who does not stop his ears against such sacrilegious language ? Who can help being horrified at such impious novelties both in thought and expression ? He also teaches that the Holy Ghost proceeds indeed from the Father and the Son, but not from the Substance of the Father and Son. Then let him tell us from what He proceeds. Perhaps he holds it is from nothing, like all things that are made ? For these also proceed from God, according to the Apostle, who does not hesitate to say, “ Of Him (*ex ipso*) and by Him and in Him are all things ” (Rom. xi. 36). What then ? Shall we say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son in the very same manner as all things created, that is, not essentially but efficiently, and that therefore He is a creature like the rest ? Or perhaps some third way of deriving Him from the Father and the Son will be found by our new Doctor, who is always in search of novelties, inventing

whatever he fails to find, and affirming what is not with as much confidence as what is. "But," says he, "if the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father's Substance, He is manifestly begotten of the Father, and consequently the Father has two Sons." As if, forsooth, nothing can proceed from the substance of another thing except by way of generation! *

What astonishes me is that a man so intelligent and learned as he considers himself, can acknowledge the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, and nevertheless deny His procession from the Substance of the Father and Son. Possibly, however, he would maintain that the Father and Son proceed from the Substance of the Holy Ghost—a doctrine as blasphemous as it is new. But if neither the Holy Ghost is of the Substance of the Father and the Son nor They of His, where, I ask, is the consubstantiality? Therefore let him either confess with the Church that the Holy Ghost is of the Substance of the other two Persons, from Whom he acknowledges that He proceeds, or let him with Arius deny His consubstantiality altogether and openly affirm His origin by creation.† Besides, if the Son proceeds from the Father's Substance and the Holy Ghost not, these two Persons will necessarily differ from each Other, not only inasmuch as the Son has His origin by generation and the Holy Ghost by spiration, but also because the Second Person, but not the Third, will be of the same substance as the Father. Now this latter is a distinction

* The distinction between generation and procession or "spiration" in God seemed to St. Augustine an impenetrable mystery: "nescio, non valeo, non sufficio" (*Contra Maxim.*, l. iii. c. xiii.). For the Angelic Doctor's explanation cf. *De Potent.*, q. ii. a. iv. also *Sum. Theol.*, I. q. xxvii. a. iv.

† Arianism implied this doctrine. Cf. Perrone, *Prael. Theol.*, i. 475.

which hitherto has not been recognised by the Catholic Church. And if we admit it, what becomes of the Trinity of Persons? What becomes of the Unity of Essence? For the Unity is lost by the plurality of differences alleged to exist between the Son and the Holy Ghost, especially since that which our Theologian seeks to establish is evidently a substantial difference. On the other hand, it is no longer a Trinity we shall have but rather a Duality, if we deny to the Holy Ghost a community of Substance with the Father and the Son. For it certainly would not be right to admit amongst the Divine Persons one who—as is supposed—would have as to his substance nothing in common with the other Two. Let him cease therefore to maintain that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Substance of the Father and Son, that is, unless he wishes by a twofold impiety to destroy both the Trinity and the Unity, by subtracting from the one and adding to the other—to attempt either of which is to put oneself in opposition to the Christian faith. But lest I should seem to rely altogether on human argument in this matter, let Abelard read St. Jerome's Epistle to Avitus. There he shall find, amongst the other blasphemous errors for which the holy Doctor reproves Origen, this also anathematized, that the Holy Ghost is not of the Father's Substance. St. Athanasius again, in his book entitled, *On the Unity of the Trinity*, expresses himself thus: "Where I have spoken of one only God, I have not meant the single Person of the Father, because I do not deny that the Son and the Holy Ghost are of the one same Substance of the Father."

Thou perceivest now, Holy Father, how this man's

reasonings, or rather ravings, destroy the Trinity of Persons and dissolve their Unity, and thus, beyond a doubt, dishonour Their Majesty. For whatever *That* may be Which God is, It is unquestionably Something than Which nothing greater can be conceived. But if in this unique and sovereign Majesty, considered in Its Trinity of Persons, we admit even the smallest imperfection, and add to one Person what we subtract from Another: the Whole falls clearly short of that greater than which cannot be conceived. For manifestly that which is perfect as a whole and in all respects is greater than that which is perfect only in some respects. But if we would estimate the magnificence of God as worthily as we can with our limited faculties, we must recognise in Him no inequality in Whom all is supreme, no division in Whom all is one, nothing deficient in Whom all is perfect, nothing incomplete or partial in Whom all is whole. For the Father is All that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are; the Son is All that the Son and the Father and the Holy Ghost are; the Holy Ghost is All that the Holy Ghost and the Father and the Son are. And that ALL is an undivided ALL, neither superabounding in the Three together nor diminished in Each apart. The Persons have not Each His several share of that true and sovereign Good Which They are, because They do not possess It by participation but are rather identified with It by Essence. For although we most truly say that One of Them has His origin from Another or from Others, and that They stand in mutual relations to Each Other: in speaking thus we only affirm the distinction of the Persons, not at all any division of the Substance. In accordance with the

teaching of the true and Catholic faith, we acknowledge in the ineffable and incomprehensible Essence of the Deity a plurality of Persons—the Personal Properties so requiring—yet not a plurality of Substances, but only one Substance, simple and undivided; so that the confession of the Trinity does not prejudice the Unity, nor does the assertion of the Unity exclude the Personal Distinctions. Therefore, let us put as far away from our minds as it is from the truth that detestable similitude or rather dissimilitude of genus and species, and that also of the copper and the copper seal. For with regard to the former comparison, genus and species are related to each other as the wider to the narrower. But no such distinction can be admitted in God, Who is supremely One. Surely, then, there can be no analogy between a disparity so great and an equality so absolute. Similar to this and calling for a similar judgment is the second comparison of copper in general and a particular kind of copper, that is to say, a copper seal. For since the species, as I have said, is narrower than the genus, it would be impious to assent to such a relation between the Son and the Father: it would be impious to assent to this new Doctor who tells us that the Son is to the Father what the species is to the genus, what man is to animal, what the copper seal is to copper in general, what specified power is to power unspecified. In each of these examples we have two things standing to each other naturally in the mutual relation of higher and lower. Consequently we can admit no resemblance between any of them and That in Which there is no inequality, no dissimilitude. But consider in what an abyss of ignorance or of impiety such comparisons must have had their source.

Understand still more clearly what he holds, what he teaches, and what he writes. According to him, power belongs properly and particularly to the Father, and wisdom in the same way to the Son. This is certainly false. For we can also say without the least departure from truth and orthodoxy that the Father is wisdom and that the Son is power. Now that which is common to Both cannot be proper to Either. But those names which signify not the Essence, but the Personal Relations, are really mutually exclusive, and therefore His own is so proper to Each Person that it cannot be communicated to any Other. For He Who is the Father is not the Son, and He Who is the Son is not the Father : because by the name of Father is expressed, not what the First Person is to Himself but what He is to the Second ; similarly, by the name of Son is signified, not what the Second Person is to Himself, but what He is to the First. The case is different with the names of power and wisdom and all such like attributes which are predicated indifferently of the Father and the Son as They are one in Essence, not as They are personally distinct. " That is so," says Abelard, " nevertheless I hold that omnipotence belongs properly and exclusively to the Person of the Father, because not only is He able to do all things equally with the other two Persons, but He alone has His existence from Himself ; and having His existence from Himself, He must likewise have His power from Himself." O second Aristotle ! If this method of argument were valid, would it not equally avail to prove that wisdom and benignity belong properly to the Person of the Father, since the Father has His wisdom and His benignity, just as He

has His existence and His power from no other source than Himself? But if he allows this—and allow it he must if he wishes to be consistent—what becomes of that beautiful division he has made, according to which wisdom is attributed properly to the Person of the Son and benignity to the Person of the Holy Ghost, in the same way in which power is attributed to the Person of the Father? For it is manifest that one and the same attribute cannot belong properly to two distinct Persons, in such a way, that is, as to be a property of Each. Let him choose, therefore, whichever alternative he pleases. Let him either take away wisdom from the Father and give it to the Son, or take it from the Son and give it to the Father; and again, let him either attribute benignity to the Holy Ghost, to the exclusion of the Father, or attribute it to the Father to the exclusion of the Holy Ghost. But if he is willing to choose neither of these alternatives, let him then cease to regard the common attributes as proper; let him not dare to appropriate power to the Person of the Father on the ground that the Father has His power from Himself, lest he should find it necessary for the same reason to appropriate to Him also the attributes of wisdom and benignity which He has equally from Himself.

But let us attend to our Professor and see how philosophically he contemplates the invisible things of God. He affirms, as already remarked, that omnipotence belongs properly to the Person of the Father; and this omnipotence, he teaches, in order to be full and perfect, must embrace the powers of governing and judging. To the Son (as has also been said) he appropriates wisdom, which he defines to be, not power

simply, but a kind of power in God, that is to say, the power of judging. Perhaps he is afraid of doing an injury to the Father if he should attribute to the Son as much as he assigns to the Father ; and so, not daring to give the Son the plenitude of power, he allows Him half. And he illustrates what he says by clear examples ; telling us that the power of judging, which is identical with the Son, is *some* power, just as man is *some* animal, or as a copper seal is *some* copper ; moreover, that the power of judging alone is to the power of both ruling and judging—in other words, that the Son is to the Father—what man is to animal, what the copper seal is to copper. “ For,” so he argues, “ just as a copper seal is necessarily copper, and just as a man is necessarily an animal, although the converse propositions are not necessarily true : so divine wisdom, which is a divine power of judging, is necessarily *a* divine power, but not *vice versa*.” What then ? Dost thou wish that, according to thy comparison and consistently with the preceding examples, I should argue in this manner : The Son (Who is the power of judging) is necessarily the Father (Who is power absolutely) : in other words, the Person of the Son is necessarily the Person of the Father, but not conversely ? If thou admittest this thou art a heretic : if thou dost not admit it, thy comparison must be acknowledged to be inapplicable.

But if this comparison of thine thus fails to serve the purpose for which it has been adduced by applying exactly and in every detail, wherefore hast thou put thyself to so much pains and trouble about it, borrowing it from things so far remote and so little congruous ? Wherefore hast thou employed so many

words to impress us with a sense of its importance? Wherefore extolled it with such extravagant eulogies? Was it not thy aim and thy object to teach us by means of this comparison what manner of relation subsists between the Father and the Son? Thou hast taught us that to say "man" is to say "animal," but not conversely, in accordance with the rule of thy logical art, viz., to affirm the species is to affirm the genus, but to affirm the genus is not necessarily to affirm the species. Since, therefore, thou referrest the Father to the genus and the Son to the species art thou not bound to show, in order to justify thy comparison, that to affirm the Son is to affirm the Father, whereas the affirmation of the Father does not necessarily imply the affirmation of the Son? That just as a man is of necessity an animal, but not *vice versa*, in like manner the Son is of necessity the Father, but not *vice versa*? But in this position thou art opposed by our Catholic faith, which equally repudiates both propositions, namely, that the Person of the Father is the Person of the Son, and that the Person of the Son is the Person of the Father. For the Father is undoubtedly a distinct Person from the Son, although not a distinct Deity. The piety of faith knows well how to distinguish cautiously by means of "*alius*" and "*aliud*," the masculine and neuter forms, between the Personal Properties and the indivisible unity of the Essence, and steering a middle course, advances along the royal way of truth, neither declining to the right by confounding the Persons, nor turning to the left by dividing the Substance. But if thou sayest that on account of the absolute simplicity of the Divine Nature, the existence of the Son necessarily implies the

existence of the Father, even this will not help thy argument, because it is the property of relations that they be reciprocal and that the converse proposition should be as true as the convertend: so that if the Son implies the Father, the Father must equally imply the Son. The same is not true of the examples thou hast given of genus and species, and of copper in general and the copper seal. For whereas we can say absolutely and most properly that if the Son exists the Father must likewise exist, and conversely, if the Father exists the Son also must exist, because of the simple unity of Their Being: it would be untrue to affirm the same mutual and necessary implication between genus and species or between copper and the copper seal. I can say with truth that if a man exists an animal exists; but not conversely, if an animal exists a man exists. Similarly, with respect to the other example, the existence of a copper seal necessarily implies the existence of copper, but not *vice versa*. Let us now pass on to the discussion of the remaining points.

According to the Doctor we must admit omnipotence in the Father, and a specified power in the Son. Let him tell us now what he thinks we should believe concerning the Holy Ghost. "Benignity itself," he says, "by which name the Holy Spirit is evidently designated, is neither power nor wisdom in God." "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven" (Luke x. 18). So he also deserves to fall who presumes to "walk in great matters and in wonderful things above him" (Ps. cxxx. 1). Thou perceivest, Holy Father, what ladders he has prepared, or rather what precipices he has got ready for his fall. To the Father he assigns

absolute power ; to the Son, limited power ; and no power at all to the Holy Ghost. The very sound of these words fills me with horror, and this fact alone is enough, in my judgment, to demonstrate their falsity. Nevertheless, in order to defend the Holy Ghost from the injury offered to Him, I will cite the one testimony which now occurs to my agitated mind. In the Prophet Isaias He is represented as " the Spirit of wisdom and the Spirit of fortitude " (Is. xi. 2). These words are sufficient to confound, if not to repress, the presumption of our Theologian. " O tongue that speaketh proud things " (Ps. xi. 4) ! Even though the injury thou dost to the Father and the Son may be pardoned thee, deemest thou that this blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall be likewise forgiven ? (Matt. xii. 32). " The angel of the Lord waiteth with a sword to cut thee in two " (Dan. xiii. 59), because thou hast said that " the Holy Ghost is neither power nor wisdom in God." So does the proud man fall by presumption.

Nor need it surprise us to see this reckless, random talker rashly intruding into the mysteries of faith, and laying sacrilegious and violent hands on the hidden treasures of piety, since his views about piety itself are neither pious nor orthodox. In the very first page of his theology, or rather of his foolology (*stultologiae*), he defines faith to be opinion. As if, forsooth, it were allowable for each one to think and speak as he likes concerning matters of faith ! As if the mysteries of our faith had no firmer support than the uncertainty of capricious and various opinions, and were not rather grounded upon the solid foundation of certain truth ! How can our hope be otherwise than vain unless our faith be securely established ? And would not our martyrs

appear to have acted foolishly in suffering such bitter torments for an uncertain crown, not hesitating to enter by a cruel death upon an endless exile from life, all in the hope of a doubtful reward? But God forbid that we should suppose there is anything either in our faith or in our hope liable to the inconstancy of uncertain opinion, as our Theologian would have us to believe! No, all that we believe and hope for rests upon the certainty and solidity of truth, attested from heaven by oracles and miracles, confirmed and consecrated by the Virginal Birth and by the Blood of the Redeemer as also by the glory of His Resurrection. These "testimonies are become exceedingly credible" (Ps. xcii. 5). But lest they should not be enough, "the Spirit Himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God" (Rom. viii. 16). How therefore can anyone have the presumption to call faith opinion, unless indeed he be one who has not yet received the Holy Spirit, or one who is either ignorant of Sacred Scripture or reputes it a fable? "I know Whom I have believed, and I am certain" (2 Tim. i. 12), cries out the Apostle. And dost thou whisper in my ear, "Faith is only opinion"? Dost thou represent to me as doubtful that than which nothing is more certain? Not so speaks St. Augustine. "Faith," says this holy Doctor, "is neither a conjecture nor an opinion formed in the mind of him who possesses it as the fruit of his own reflections, but it is a certain knowledge, and approved as such by the voice of conscience." God forbid, then, God forbid, I say, that our Christian faith should be confined within the limits prescribed for it by Peter Abelard! Let us leave these vain opinions to the Academicians, whose

profession it is to doubt about everything and to know nothing. For my part, I will follow with full confidence the teaching of the Doctor of Nations, and I know that I shall not be confounded. His definition of faith, I confess, is a joy to me, even though our Theologian makes a covert attack upon it. "Faith," says he, "is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not" (Heb. xi. 1). Observe how he calls it the "*substance* of things to be hoped for," not a phantasmagoria of idle conjectures. Mark especially the word "substance." From this thou mayest gather that it is not lawful for thee, in matters of faith, to conjecture and discuss according to thy pleasure, or to wander at will in this way and that through empty speculations and labyrinths of error. For the term "substance" suggests to thee something fixed and certain; thou art enclosed and confined within definite limits; because faith is not opinion but certitude.

But I want thee, Holy Father, to take account of his other errors. I will pass over his contention that "the Spirit of the fear of the Lord" (Is. xi. 3) was not in the Lord Jesus; that the chaste fear of the Lord will have no place in the life to come; that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Holy Sacrifice, the accidents which previously inhered in these substances, begin now to be suspended in air; that diabolical suggestions are inspired into us by contact with stones and herbs, because (so he tells us) the demon's cunning malice knows how the different virtues of such things can be employed to excite and inflame the different passions in our hearts; that the Holy Ghost is the soul of the world; and finally, that the world,

according to the teaching of Plato, is an animal, and is superior to all other animals in proportion as it possesses in the Spirit of God a superior soul. Thus, in his efforts to make Plato a Christian, our Theologian has only succeeded in proving himself a pagan. Of these and other similar vagaries of his—and their name is legion—I will say nothing more. But I will pass on to consider his more serious errors. Not that I intend to refute in detail even all of these, for to accomplish that would require the composition of a bulky volume. I will only deal with such as cannot be passed over in silence.

In his “Book of Sentences,” and also in his Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, this rash “searcher of majesty” (Prov. xxv. 27)—as I remember to have read—undertakes to discuss the mystery of our redemption; and at the very beginning of his dissertations he sets forth and rejects with contempt what he affirms to be the unanimous teaching of Catholic doctors on that question, boasting that he has himself something better to offer, and paying no attention to the Wise Man’s precept, “Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set” (Prov. xxii. 28). “It is necessary to observe,” he writes, “that all our doctors since the time of the apostles have been unanimous in teaching that the devil had power and dominion over the human race, and that it belonged to him by right, because man, by the free will wherewith he was endowed, had spontaneously consented to his suggestions. For, as these doctors say, whenever one person vanquishes another, he that is vanquished becomes by right the slave of the victor. And therefore, so they argue, it was necessary that the Son of God

should become incarnate, in order that man, who could not otherwise be rescued, might justly obtain deliverance from the devil's yoke through the death of the Innocent. But in my opinion the devil never had any right over man, except perhaps the right of a jailer, and that only by God's permission. Neither do I believe that the purpose of the Son of God in taking flesh was to deliver man." What shall I judge to be the more intolerable in these words, the blasphemy or the arrogance? What the more damnable, the temerity or the impiety? Does not he who uses such language deserve to be beaten with rods rather than refuted with arguments? Does not he whose hand is against every one provoke against himself the hands of all? "All the rest," says he, "believe in this way, but I take a different view." What then is thy view? What is this superior wisdom which thou hast to offer us? What more subtle theory hast thou excogitated? What is the secret truth which, as thou boastest, has been revealed to thee, and which so many saints and sages have missed and passed over? But I suppose it is "stolen waters and hidden bread" (Prov. ix. 17) thou hast to set before us.

Tell me, nevertheless, tell me, I pray, what is that opinion which seems right to thee although to none other? Is it that the Son of God did not assume human nature in order to deliver man? This certainly is an opinion held by none except thyself. See then whence thou hast derived it. Not from the Wise Man at any rate, nor from the prophets, nor from the apostles, nor from the Lord. The Doctor of Nations received of the Lord that which he also delivered unto us (1 Cor. xi. 23). The Master of all confesses that

His doctrine is not His own (John vii. 16). "The words that I speak to you," He says, "I speak not of Myself" (ibid. xiv. 10). But thou dost give us of thine own and what thou hast received from no one. Now he who "speaketh a lie speaketh of his own" (ibid. viii. 44). Keep to thyself, therefore, what is thine. I will listen to the prophets and the apostles, and I will obey the Gospel, not however the Gospel according to Peter. Hast thou composed for us a new gospel? But the Church refuses to recognise a fifth evangelist. What else does the law, what else do the prophets and the apostles and apostolic men announce to us except that which thou alone deniest, namely, that God became man in order to deliver man? And should even an angel from heaven preach to us a different gospel, let him be anathema (Gal. i. 8).*

But the doctors who have come after the apostles possess no authority in thine eyes, so that thou canst say with the Psalmist, "I have understood more than all my teachers" (Ps. cxviii. 99). Yea, thou hast the effrontery to boast that thou standest alone in opposition to their unanimous teaching. It would consequently be useless for me to set forth the faith and doctrine of those whose authority thou dost not admit. So I will confront thee with the prophets. It is not a prophet, however, but the Lord by the mouth of a

* The opinion here reprobated is altogether distinct from that which has been and is still defended by eminent theologians, namely, that our redemption was not the *sole* purpose of the Incarnation, but that the Word would still have taken flesh even though man had never fallen. Abelard's contention was that even after the fall man did not become in any sense the slave of the devil, and so had no need of a Redeemer. Hence he concluded that Christ came merely to instruct us by word and example and to conciliate our love.—(Translator.)

prophet Who addresses His "purchased people" (1 Peter ii. 9) under the type of Jerusalem, saying, "I will save thee and I will deliver thee: do not fear"* (Soph. iii. 16, 17). Dost thou ask from whose power deliverance is here promised? For thou art unwilling to allow the devil any power, either at present or in the past, over the human race. And, to be candid, I am myself equally unwilling. But such unwillingness on the part of thee and of me will not make it the less true that the devil actually has or had this power. Thou dost neither acknowledge this truth nor know it. But it is known and acknowledged by "them that have been redeemed by the Lord, whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy" (Ps. cvi. 2). Nor wouldst thou deny it either, if thou wert not still in the enemy's hands. Not having been thyself delivered, thou canst not join with the delivered in returning thanks. For hadst thou been delivered, thou wouldst certainly acknowledge thy Deliverer and wouldst not deny thy deliverance. He who does not know that he is a captive will not seek to be emancipated. But such as have had this knowledge have cried to the Lord and He hath heard them and "hath redeemed them from the hand of the enemy." And that thou mayest know who this enemy is, the Psalmist, after saying, "whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy," added, "and gathered out of the countries." But in the first place, know that this Gatherer is the same Jesus of Whom Caiphas prophesied in the Gospel that He "should die for the nation" (John xi. 50). And the Evangelist who has recorded these words goes on

* Quoted compendiously or perhaps from some Version unknown to me.—(Translator.)

to say, "And not only for the nation, but to gather together in one the children of God that were dispersed." Whither were they dispersed? Throughout all countries. Therefore, whom Christ redeemed He "gathered out of the countries." He could not gather them unless he had first redeemed them. For not alone were they dispersed, but they were made captives also. Hence He redeemed before He gathered them. And He "redeemed them from the hand of the enemy." Observe, it is not said "from the hand of the *enemies*," but "from the hand of the *enemy*." Therefore the enemy is one and the countries many. For it was not out of one country only He gathered them, but He "gathered them out of the countries, from the rising and from the setting of the sun, from the north and from the sea." Now who is this enemy, this one and so powerful prince, that has dominion over not one but all countries? None other, it seems to me, than he of whom another prophet says that "he will drink up a river (that is, the human race), and not wonder; and he trusteth that the Jordan also (that is, even the elect themselves) may flow into his mouth" (Job xl. 48). Blessed are they that so flow in as also to flow out, who enter his jaws in such a way that they again issue forth.

But possibly thou wilt not believe even now on the word of these two prophets, who bear concordant witness to the power of the devil over the human race. Come with me, therefore, to the apostles. For thou hast declared that thou dost not accept the teaching of the doctors who have come after the apostolic age. Believe at least the apostles themselves, and perchance to thee also that may happen which one of them

desired for such as resisted the truth, saying, "If peradventure God may give them repentance to know the truth, and that they may recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive at his will" (2 Tim. ii. 25, 26). These are the words of St. Paul, who affirms that men were held captive by the devil "at his will." And wilt thou deny that they who were held captive at the devil's will were really in his power? But if thou refusest to credit the Apostle, let us go to the Lord Himself, "if so be thou wilt hear and wilt forbear" (Ezech. ii. 5). Now, the devil is called by Christ "the prince of this world" (John xiv. 30), "the strong man armed" (Luke xi. 21), and "the possessor of the spoil" (Matt. xii. 29). And sayest thou that he had no power over men? Perhaps in thy judgment "the house of the strong" here mentioned does not signify the world, nor the spoil the souls of men? But if the world be the devil's house, and the spoil human souls, how can it be true that men were not subject to Satan's dominion? The Lord said again to those who came to apprehend Him, "This is your hour and the power of darkness" (Luke xxii. 53). Nor was this power unknown to him who said, "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love" (Col. i. 13). Therefore the Lord acknowledged that the devil had power even over Himself, just as He recognised a similar power in Pilate, who was a member of the devil, and to whom He replied, "Thou shouldst not have any power against Me, unless it were given thee from above" (John xix. 11). But if the power received from above wrought such havoc in the green wood, wherefore should it not

dare to touch the dry? I do not think our Theologian will object that this power from above was an unjust power. Let him know, then, that the devil had not only dominion, but even a just dominion over the human race, and consequently let him recognise that the Son of God came in the flesh to deliver men. However, when I declare the devil's dominion just, I do not mean that his will also was just. Therefore I call just neither the devil who usurped this power, nor man who by consenting to the devil deserved to become his slave, but only the Lord Who permitted the usurpation. For it is not by the power he possesses but by his will that a person is rendered just or unjust. Accordingly, the power of the devil over man, although it was not justly acquired but wickedly usurped, was nevertheless justly permitted. In this way, therefore, was man justly held captive, so that the justice was neither in man himself, nor in the devil, but only in the Lord.

Man, consequently, was justly enslaved. But his deliverance was a work of mercy, not so, however, as to exclude all justice. And this was itself a part of the Redeemer's mercy, as more profitable for the redeemed, that, namely, He made use of justice rather than of power against the usurper. For what could man do of himself, the slave of sin, and the thrall of the devil, to recover the justice he had once lost? Therefore, the justice of Another was communicated to him who no longer had any of his own. And it was done in this way. The prince of this world came, and in the Saviour found nothing that belonged to him (John xiv. 31). In spite of that, he presumed to lay violent hands on the Innocent, and therefore was justly deprived

of those whom he held in bondage. For when Christ, to Whom death had no claim, was unjustly done to death, He justly delivered from the empire of death and the devil even those who were justly subjected to their power. With what justice could man be any longer held in durance after his debt was paid? It was man who sinned and Man also Who made satisfaction. For, as the Apostle says, "if One died for all, then all have died" * (2 Cor. v. 14) in Him Who died for all, in the sense that the satisfaction of One is imputed to all, just as the same One bore the sins of all. Nor can it be said that it was one man who sinned and Another Who offered satisfaction, because the Head and the body are but one Christ. The Head, consequently, satisfied for the members, Christ for His mystical body, when according to the Gospel of St. Paul—which gives the lie to Peter's—having died for us, "He hath quickened (us) together with Him, forgiving (us) all offences: blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us. And He hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross; and despoiling the principalities and powers, He hath exposed them confidently in open show, triumphing over them in Himself" (Col. ii. 13-15).

Would to God that I also were found to be amongst the spoils won from the opposing powers, and that I had now passed into the possession of the Lord! Should

* "Si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt." The Saint's interpretation of these words is as obvious as unusual. All certainly may be said to do what one does in the name of all. The verse is commonly understood in this way: The fact that Christ died to deliver all men from death is a proof that all men were really dead. Cf. A Lapide, *Comment.* —(Translator.)

Laban pursuing reproach me with having "run away privately" from him, let him know that because I came to him privately, therefore have I privately departed (Gen. xxxi.). Sin of which I had no knowledge had made me his bondsman; and a justice to which I was a stranger has wrought my deliverance. If without fault of my own I have been sold into slavery, shall I not also be delivered without merit of my own? If Assur without reason has made me his captive, without reason also does he demand the reason of my flight from him. But should he say, "Thy father Adam enslaved thee to me," I will answer him, "But Christ my Brother has delivered me from thee." If I have been made guilty by another's guilt, why should I not be rendered just also by the justice of Another? It is Another Who has justified me from sin, because it was another who made me a sinner. I was made a sinner by deriving my being from Adam; I am made just by being washed in the Blood of Christ. Shall generation by a sinner be sufficient to condemn me and shall not the Blood of Christ be sufficient to justify me? But it may be said, "Leave the justice to Him to Whom alone it belongs: what hast thou to do with it?" Agreed: but leave the guilt also to him to whom alone it belongs: what have I to do with it? Shall the justice of the Just be upon Him alone whereas the wickedness of the wicked shall not be upon him alone (Ezech. xviii. 20)? It is not right that the son should bear the iniquity of his father (ibid.), whilst the brother is not allowed to participate in the justice of his Brother. Now, therefore, as "by a man came death" (1 Cor. xv. 21), so by a Man has life come also. For "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall

be made alive" (ibid. 22). I am united not to Adam only but to Christ also, to the one through the flesh, to the Other by faith. And if through the former connexion I have inherited the original corruption, through the latter I have been purified by spiritual grace. What more can be imputed to me from my prevaricating first father? Generation? But to this I oppose my regeneration by Christ. Now as the one of these is carnal and the other spiritual, it is impossible that they should be equally efficacious. The spirit must triumph over the flesh and must be the stronger in its influence in proportion as it is in nature the nobler; so that the second generation shall profit me more than the first has done me harm. I have participated, I confess, in the sin of Adam, but I also participate in the grace of Christ. "And not as it was by one sin, so also is the gift. For judgment indeed was by one man unto condemnation, but grace is of many offences unto justification" (Rom. v. 16). Sin had its source in the first man; as for grace, "its going out is from the height of heaven" (Ps. xviii. 7). The one I owe to the father of my flesh, the second to the supreme Father of all. And if my mortal generation could destroy me, shall not my heavenly generation be able to preserve me? (1 John v. 18). Nor have I any fear lest, after my deliverance from the power of darkness, I shall be repelled by the "Father of lights" (James i. 17), having been justified freely in the Blood of His Son. For it is "God That justifieth: who is he that shall condemn?" (Rom. v. 33-4). No, He Who showed mercy to the sinner will not condemn the just. I call myself just, yet only just by His justice. What justice is that? The Apostle shall answer. "The end of the

law is Christ, unto justice to every one that believeth " (Rom. x. 4), for it is the same Christ " Who of God is made unto us justice " (1 Cor. i. 30). Surely, then, the justice that is made unto me I can rightly call my own. If the sin which I have inherited is my sin, mine also is the justice which has been bestowed. And certainly a justice that is gratuitously conferred is more expedient for me than any I could acquire for myself. Self-acquired justice " hath whereof to glory, but not before God " (Rom. iv. 2), whereas communicated justice gives no ground for glorying except in the Lord. Hence holy Job says, " although I be just, I shall not lift up my head " (Job x. 15), lest, namely, he should hear the answer, " What hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received? " (1 Cor. iv. 7).

Such is the justice which man has obtained through the Blood of his Redeemer. But this " son of perdition " disdains and scoffs at it and endeavours to rob it of all its worth. For he believes and maintains that the Lord of Glory " emptied Himself " (Philipp. ii. 7), made Himself " a little less than the angels " (Heb. ii. 9, Ps. viii. 6), was born of a woman, " conversed with men " (Bar. iii. 38), lived a life of humility, submitted to insults and outrages, and finally returned to His own place by the death of the cross: all for no other purpose than that He might teach men how to live by His words and example, and point out to them by His passion and death to what limits their charity should go! Consequently He did not communicate justice but only revealed to us what it is? He taught us charity without infusing it into our hearts, and

thus reascended to heaven ? And so this is that " great mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh, was justified in the Spirit, appeared unto angels, hath been preached unto the gentiles, is believed in the world, is taken up in glory " (1 Tim. iii. 16) ? Incomparable Doctor ! He " searcheth even the deep things of God " (1 Cor. ii. 10), unlocking them for himself and making them clear and manifest to whomsoever he pleases ! Yea, the most profound of mysteries, " the mystery which hath been hidden from ages " (Col. i. 26), this man by his fiction has rendered so perspicuous and plain to us that it is now as a way through which every one can easily pass, even the unclean and the uncircumcised ! As if He Who is the Wisdom of God did not know how to avoid or neglected to avoid what He has so expressly forbidden ! As if He had Himself given " that which is holy to dogs " and " cast pearls before swine " (Matt. vii. 6) ! But the case is not so. For " the great mystery of godliness," although " manifested in the flesh," was yet " justified in the Spirit," so that spiritual secrets might be communicated only to the spiritual, and that the " animal man might not perceive those things that are of the Spirit of God " (1 Cor. ii. 14), and that our faith might " not stand on the wisdom of men but on the power of God " (ibid. 4). Hence the Saviour said, " I confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones " (Matt. xi. 25). And the Apostle, " And if our Gospel be also hid, it is hid to them that are lost " (2 Cor. iv. 3).

Observe how this man makes a mock of " those

things that are of the spirit of God," because he considers them folly ; how he insults the Apostle who " speaketh the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery " (1 Cor. ii. 4) ; how he contradicts the Gospel and blasphemes the Lord Himself. How much more prudent would he have shown himself had he humbly believed what he could not understand, instead of presuming to despise and trample on so holy and venerable a mystery ! It would take too long to reply to all the silly and impious arguments wherewith he opposes the counsel of God. However, I will mention just a few from which thou canst easily judge of the rest.

He reasons, then, as follows : " The elect and they alone are said to have been delivered by Christ. But how could the devil have had dominion over the elect, either in this life or in the next, before Christ's coming any more than he has now ? " To this I answer : On the contrary, because the devil *had* dominion over the elect of God, whom, as the Apostle says, he held " captive at his will " (2 Tim. ii. 26) : for this reason I say, they had need of a Deliverer, in order that God's designs might be fulfilled in them. And it was necessary that they should be made free in this life from Satan's tyranny in order that they might be free for ever in the next. Pressing on with this point, he asks : " Was that Beggar who reposed in Abraham's bosom tormented by the devil just as the reprobate Dives ? Or will it be said that the devil had dominion over Abraham himself and over all the other elect ? " No, but he should have had, were they not delivered from his power by faith in the promised Redeemer, as it is written of Abraham, " Abraham believed God and it was reputed to him unto justice " (Gen. xv. 6) ;

also, " Abraham rejoiced that he might see My day : he saw it and was glad " (John viii. 56). Wherefore, the Blood of Christ, even then, before His death, was bedewing the soul of Lazarus and preventing it from feeling the flames ; because he also had believed in Him Who was to suffer. The same must be held with regard to all the elect of the Old Dispensation, namely, that they, just as we, were born under the power of darkness, on account of original sin, but were delivered before death, and not otherwise than in virtue of the Blood of Christ. For so we read, " And the multitudes that went before and that followed after cried, saying : Hosanna to the Son of David : Blessed is He That cometh in the name of the Lord : Hosanna in the highest " (Matt. xxi. 9). That is to say, Christ is blessed and praised by the whole multitude of the blessed, both those who preceded and those who came after His coming in the flesh, although the former did not in their own time obtain the fulness of blessing, that being a privilege reserved for the time of grace.

Furthermore, our Doctor is at great pains to teach and persuade us that the devil had neither the power nor the right to assume dominion over man except by God's permission ; and that God might have reclaimed and delivered His runaway slave with a mere word, without doing any injustice to the devil, had He willed to show His mercy in this way—as if truths so manifest had ever been called in question ! After much to the same purpose he finally concludes with the question : " Since, therefore, the divine mercy might with a word have delivered man from the bondage of sin, what was the necessity, or the need, or the reason why, in order to accomplish this, the Son of God should take flesh,

and endure such and so many sufferings and indignities: fastings, insults, stripes, spittings, and lastly, the shameful and most bitter death of the cross, being crucified between two criminals?" I answer: There was necessity, and there was need, and there was reason for this. The necessity was ours, the dire necessity of those who "were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death" (Ps. cvi. 10). The need, too, was ours, but not ours alone: it was also God's need and the need of His holy angels. For we needed to be delivered from the yoke of our captivity. And He needed to have fulfilled the purpose of His will. And the holy angels needed to have their numbers filled up. The reason for choosing such a mode of redemption was the gracious condescension of the Redeemer. Who can doubt that innumerable other ways of redeeming, justifying, and delivering us lay open to Omnipotence? But this does not detract from the efficaciousness of the mode selected out of many; which perhaps got the preference for the reason that the sufferings of the Saviour, so great and so many, would bring and keep more strongly and vividly before our minds, in this "land of oblivion" (Ps. lxxxvii. 13), the gravity of our fall.* But no man knows or can know perfectly what treasures of grace, what congruities full of wisdom, what loveliness and glory, what efficacious helps to salvation, are contained in the profound depths of this venerable and unsearchable mystery, which the Prophet, after considering it, feared but could not fathom (Hab. iii. 2, juxta LXX), and which the Precursor of the Lord judged himself unworthy to penetrate (John i. 27).

* Cf. *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, vol. i. p. 98, note (Mount Melleray Translation).—(Translator.)

But although it is not permitted us to search out the mystery of the divine purpose, we may nevertheless feel the effects of the divine operation and enjoy its salutary fruits. Nor are we allowed to pass over in silence so much as we are given to know, because "it is the glory of kings to conceal the word, and the glory of God to search out the speech" (Prov. xxv. 2).^{*} "A faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation" (1 Tim. i. 15), that "when as yet we were sinners, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son" (Rom. v. 10). Now, there can be no reconciliation without the remission of sins. For according to the Scriptures, our sins make a division between us and God (Is. lix. 2). Consequently, so long as sin remains there can be no reconciliation. In what, then, does the remission of sin consist? "This is the chalice, the new testament in My Blood," said the Saviour, "Which shall be shed for you unto the remission of sins" (Luke xxii. 20, Matt. xxvi. 28). Accordingly, as I have already remarked, where there is reconciliation, there also must be remission of sin. And what is the remission of sin but justification? Therefore, this benefit, whether we choose to call it remission of sin, or reconciliation, or justification, or redemption, or deliverance from the power of the devil by whom we were "held captive at his will," we have obtained through the death of the Only-Begotten, "being justified freely by His Blood" (Rom. v. 9), "in Whom also," as the Apostle tells us, "we have redemption through His Blood, the remission of sins, according to the

^{*} Read contrariwise in the Vulgate: "It is the glory of God to conceal the word and the glory of kings to search out the speech." St. Bernard's reading is found with others of the Fathers. Cf. *Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles*, vol. ii., p. 250, note.—(Translator.)

riches of His grace " (Ephes. i. 7). " Why," sayest thou, " did He shed His Blood to redeem us, when a single word would have been sufficient ? " Ask Himself. That He *has* so redeemed us, I am permitted to know. But *why* He has so redeemed us, is a secret He has not been pleased to communicate. " Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it : Why hast thou made me thus ? " (Rom. ix. 20).

But this doctrine appears so silly to Peter Abelard, that he cannot restrain himself from laughing at it. Listen to his mockery : " How," he asks, " can it be true what the Apostle says, viz., that we have been justified or reconciled to God by the death of His Son, since God ought rather to have been rendered thereby the more angry with man, in proportion as men sinned more grievously by crucifying His Son than by transgressing His original precept in eating a single apple ? " As if, forsooth, in one and the same action God could not behold with displeasure the wickedness of the malignant whilst at the same time taking complaisance in the charity of the Sufferer ! Our Theologian inquires further : " But if Adam's sin was so grievous that it could only be expiated by the death of Christ, what atonement shall be offered for the crime of them who put Christ to death ? " I answer briefly : the very Blood Which they shed and the prayer of Him Whom they slew. He asks again : " Did God the Father take so much pleasure in the death of His innocent Son that through it He became reconciled to us, who by our sin were the cause of our innocent Lord's crucifixion ? And could He not have pardoned us the first and much lighter sin of disobedience unless we also committed the most heinous sin of

deicide ? ” To this I reply: It was not His Son’s death *as such* that gave so much pleasure to the Father, but His Son’s *voluntary submission* to death, which He employed as a means of destroying death’s empire, of accomplishing our salvation, of restoring to us our lost innocence, of triumphing over the infernal powers and principalities, of despoiling hell, of repeopling heaven, of “making peace both as to the things on earth and the things that are in heaven” (Col. i. 20), and of re-establishing all things in Himself. It is true, that most precious death freely endured by the Saviour as a remedy against sin could not have been inflicted without sin. But the Father, although He abhorred the malice of the impious deicides, made good use of it, nevertheless, employing their sin for the destruction of sin and the death of His Son for the destruction of death. And if their iniquity was great, greater still was the sanctity of His will and consequently its power to save, through which power the primeval sin, grievous though it was, had perforce to yield—as the lesser to the greater—to that which was committed against Christ. Nevertheless, this victory was due neither to the sin itself nor to the sinners, but solely to Him Who made a pious use of the sin, and to Him Who patiently endured the violence of the sinners, by employing for the profit of piety all that the cruelty of the impious inflicted upon Him.

Therefore the Blood Which was shed was an atonement so abundant that It obtained the remission even of that most awful sin whereby It was poured out ; and consequently there can be no doubt that It also sufficed for the expiation of the lighter and more ancient transgression. But the Doctor goes on : “ To

whom," says he, "does it not seem cruel and wicked to demand the blood of a guiltless man in atonement for the sin of another, or to take satisfaction in the death of the innocent—to say nothing of the Father's finding so much pleasure in the death of His Son that through it He has become reconciled to the world?" But God the Father did not *exact* the Blood of His Son; He *accepted* It, however, when *freely offered*: * He thirsted not for the Blood of His Son, but for man's salvation, which could only be effected through the shedding of that Blood. Yes, most assuredly, that Blood was shed for our salvation, not, as the Doctor thinks and maintains, simply to give us an example of charity. For he concludes the long list of slanders and blasphemies which, with equal impiety and stupidity, he vomits forth against God, by declaring that "the sole reason why God appeared in the flesh was to form or (as he afterwards says) to instruct us by His words and example: the sole reason why He suffered and died was in order to prove and commend His charity towards us."

But what would be the use of instructing us by His preaching and example, unless He also restored us to grace? Or how could we profit by being taught how to live, if "the body of sin" were not first destroyed

* This must not be taken as contradictory of the common teaching: that Christ had a true precept from His Father to redeem us by His death. Suarez distinguishes two elements in a precept: its directive force, which is essential, and its co-active force, which belongs to it in a less absolute sense, and may be separated from it in certain circumstances, viz., when the will on which the precept is imposed is *incapable* of transgression (Tome xviii. D. xliii. s. 1). In this way it can be said without contradiction that Christ had a command to die and yet that His death was not exacted. Cf. also St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. q. xlvii. a. 2, 3.—(Translator.)

in us "to the end that we might serve sin no longer" (Rom. vi. 6)? If Christ has benefited us in no other way than by giving us an example of virtue, with equal reason it can be said that Adam has injured us in no other way than by giving us an example of sin. For the remedy applied must have been accommodated to the malady. And the Apostle tells us that, "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22). Therefore as was the death so is the reanimation. If the life which Christ has bestowed upon us is nothing better than the good example of His virtue, it may be argued similarly that the death inflicted upon us by Adam was nothing worse than the bad example of his fall: that just as the author of our ruin taught us to sin by his example, so the Repairer of our ruin has taught us by word and example how to live as we ought and how to love Himself and each other. But if we choose to follow the Christian faith rather than the heresy of Pelagius, and to confess that Adam's sin—and through sin, death—has been transmitted to us, not merely by example, but by generation; we must likewise acknowledge that it is by regeneration and not by example that Christ has restored to us justice—and through justice, life; so that "as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation: so also by the justice of one unto all men to justification of life" (Rom. v. 18). And if this be so, how can Peter Abelard affirm that "the one purpose and cause of the incarnation was God's desire to illumine the world with the light of His wisdom and to inflame all hearts with His love"? For where then would be the redemption? The Doctor is good enough to allow that it is by Christ we are enlightened and excited to love:

but by whom have we been redeemed? Or by whom delivered?

I grant that the coming of Christ is even of itself a great benefit to such as can conform their lives to His and return Him love for love. But what of the little ones? How can He communicate the light of His wisdom to them who have hardly yet received the light of life? How can He inflame with the love of God them who hardly know as yet how to love their mothers? Shall we therefore say that infants are in no way profited by the incarnation of Christ? Shall we suppose that it is of no advantage to them that by baptism they "have been planted together in the likeness of His death" (Rom. vi. 5), because through the incapacity belonging to their tender age they are prevented as yet from having either the knowledge or the love of Christ? "Our redemption," says the Doctor, "consists in perfect charity, enkindled in our hearts by the consideration of Christ's sufferings." Consequently, there is no redemption for the little ones, since they are incapable of this perfect charity. But perhaps he will reply that, if infants have not this redeeming love, neither have they anything worthy of damnation, so that regeneration in Christ is not necessary for them who have contracted no stain by their generation from Adam. If this be his mind, he has adopted the heresy of Pelagius. Anyhow, whether he holds that infants are excluded from participation in the benefits of redemption, or that they have no need of redemption, it is evident enough how much he dishonours the mystery of man's salvation, and how he destroys—so far as depends on him—the fruit of that unfathomable mystery, by

attributing to devotion the whole of salvation and nothing at all to regeneration, and by constituting all the glory of our redemption, all the merit of our salvation, not in the virtue of the cross and Blood of Christ, but rather in our own efforts after perfection.

There are three things especially conspicuous in the work of our salvation, namely, the example of humility which God gave us by emptying Himself of His glory ; the measure of His charity which He extended even to death, yea, even to the death of the cross ; and the mystery of redemption wherein He destroyed death by submitting voluntarily to its dominion. But it would be as impossible to save us by the first and second of these three without the third, as it is to paint a picture upon the empty air. Admirable indeed and very necessary is the model of humility proposed to us ; admirable too and " worthy of all acceptation " (1 Tim. i. 15) is the example of charity offered us : but if redemption be wanting, neither the one nor the other can have any foundation or by consequence any stability. I will endeavour with all my power to imitate the humility of Jesus ; I long to embrace with the arms, so to speak, of reciprocal love Him " Who loved me and delivered Himself for me " (Gal. ii. 20) : but I must also eat of the Paschal Lamb. For unless I eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, I shall not have life in me * (John

* St. Bernard, following St. Augustine, understands Christ's injunction to eat His Flesh and drink His Blood in a secondary and symbolic sense as a command to communicate in His Passion. Thus in his Third Sermon on Psalm XC. he says, " Why should we not understand the expressions ' eat My Flesh ' and ' drink My Blood ' as an injunction to participate in His sufferings and to imitate the example He has given us in the flesh ? " Cf. A Lapide on John vi. 54.—(Translator.)

vi. 54). It is one thing to follow Jesus, and another thing to hold Jesus, and still another thing to eat Jesus. To follow Jesus is a salutary purpose ; to hold and embrace Him is joy inexpressible ; but to eat His Flesh is blissful life. For His Flesh is meat indeed and His Blood is drink indeed (John vi. 56). He is " the Bread of God Which came down from heaven and giveth life to the world " (ibid. 33). Now, what stability can belong either to the joy of embracing Him or to the purpose of following Him without the possession of life ? Are they not both like a picture which has nothing solid to support it ? Therefore neither the example of humility given us by Christ nor the object-lesson of perfect charity could avail us aught without the mystery of redemption.

My Lord and Father, receive from the hand of thy humble servant these few observations—whatever their value—wherewith I have endeavoured to refute some of the principal errors of the new heresy. Perchance thou wilt be able to discover nothing more in my lucubration than the evidence of my zeal. Even so, I have done my duty and satisfied my conscience. For grieving over the injuries being done to our holy faith and unable of myself to do anything for its protection, I have thought it worth while to solicit the help of him who possesses the " mighty arms of God " for the destruction of all opposing doctrines, and for the levelling down of " every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and the bringing into captivity of every understanding unto the obedience of Christ " (2 Cor. x. 5). There are many other and not less pernicious errors to be found in the various writings of this new Theologian, the discussion of which would occupy too

much time and more space than could be given it in a letter. Besides, I do not think there is any need to examine them in detail, because their falsity is so manifest that the common principles of faith will suffice for their refutation. However, I have collected a few specimens and sent them on for thy perusal.

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DAL VATICANO,
28 Augusti, 1921.

ADMODUM REVERENDE PATER,

Peculiari animi oblectatione affectus est Beatissimus Pater quod tu manus admovisti ad uberes doctrinae et pietatis thesauros, qui in operibus S. Bernardi reconditi sunt, ope translationis diffundendos non tantum inter Catholicos Hiberniae tuae cives, verum etiam inter omnes qua latissime in orbe viget linguae anglicae usus.

Merito enim inter multa et eximia S. Bernardi scripta proeprimis ponenda est egregia ipsius in Canticum Canticorum mystica expositio, in qua cum summa dictionis suavitate arcana S. Scripturae et pietatis monita reserat.

Hanc mysticam Cantici Canticorum expositionem in linguam vernaculam transferre curasti; quod sane accurate nitideque nec absque illa sermonis elegantia atque jucunditate quae melliflui Doctoris Alumnum deceat, assecutus es.

Jamvero Sanctitas Sua dum de labore jam feliciter acto gratulatur, gratesque solvit de duobus voluminibus Ipsi reverenter oblatis, Apostolicam Benedictionem, paternae benevolentiae Suae testem peramanter in Domino impertit.

Ego vero hanc opportunitatem nactus sensus existimationis meae in Te exprimo dum ea, qua par est, observantia permaneo.

addictissimus

P. CARD. GASPARR

REV^{MO} PATRI ALBEO LUDDY,
Ordinis Cisterciensium Ref.

THE VATICAN,

August 28, 1921.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

Our Most Holy Father is very pleased that you have addressed yourself to the task of diffusing, by means of a translation, the rich treasures of doctrine and piety contained in the works of St. Bernard, not only amongst your own Catholic countrymen, but also amongst the faithful of other parts who use the widely spoken English language.

Amongst the many precious writings of St. Bernard, the first place must undoubtedly be given to his sublime and mystical exposition of the *Canticle of Canticles*, wherein, with a style of surpassing sweetness, he explains the hidden sense of Scripture, intermingling practical instructions appertaining to piety.

This mystical exposition you have undertaken to render into the vernacular; and certainly you have accomplished your purpose accurately and skilfully, and not without that elegance and suavity of style which so well befits a disciple of the Mellifluous Doctor.

His Holiness, therefore, whilst congratulating you on the happy completion of your labours, and returning thanks for the two volumes, which you have reverently offered him, in testimony of his paternal benevolence most lovingly imparts to you the Apostolic Benediction.

And I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you the expression of my own esteem, whilst I remain with all due respect,

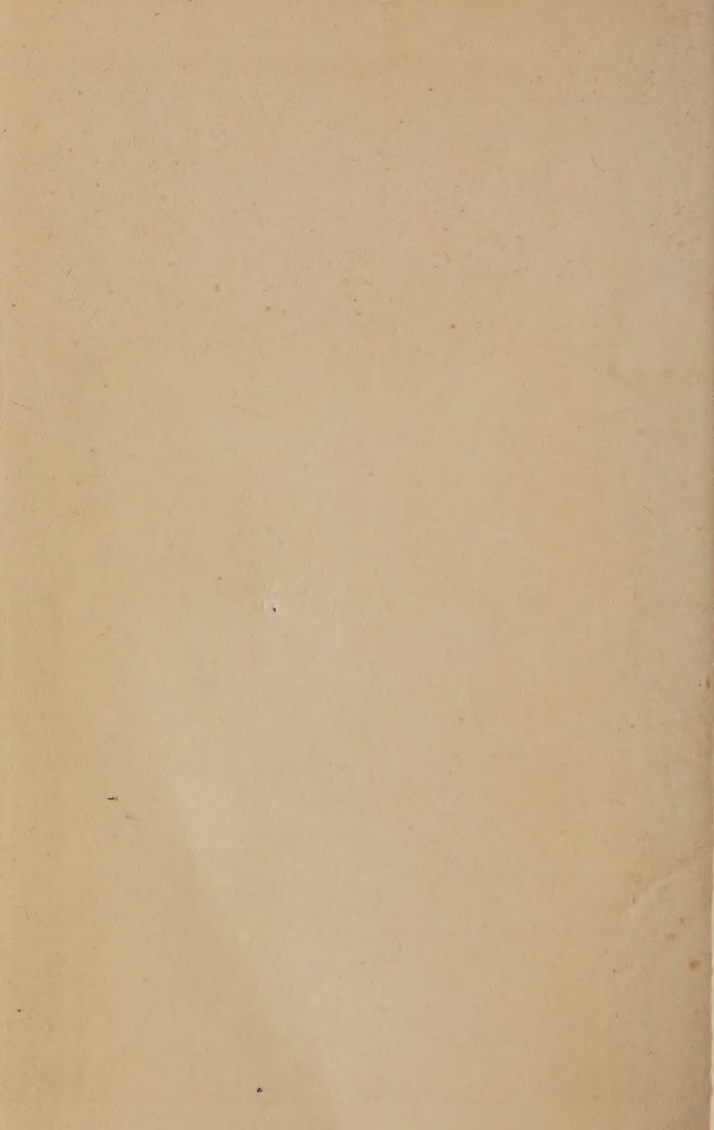
Devotedly yours,

P. CARDINAL GASPARRI.

REV. AILBE J. LUDDY,

Of the Order of Reformed Cistercians.

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